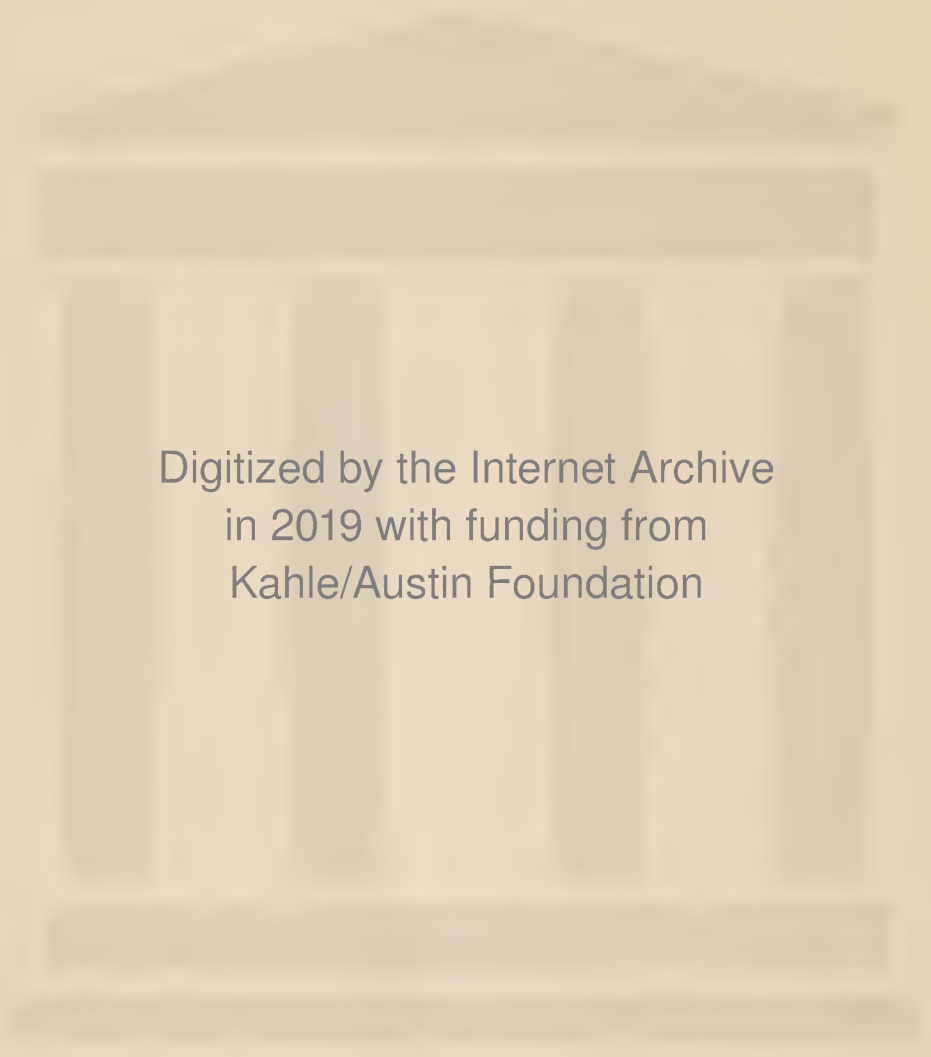




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THE JOURNAL OF
EDWARD MOUNTAGU
FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH

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THE JOURNAL OF
EDWARD MOUNTAGU
FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL AT SEA

1659-1665

EDITED BY

R. C. ANDERSON



PRINTED FOR THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

THE Journal of Edward Mountagu, who at the Restoration became Earl of Sandwich, begins with his embarkation in the *Naseby* on 12th March 1658/9 for the expedition to the Sound. Of his previous service as joint commander with Blake in 1656 and in command of the Channel fleet in 1657-8 he appears to have left no consecutive record, though some of his drawings of harbours in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Gibraltar, which are found at the end of the first volume of his Journal, seem to have been made during his early service in those waters. The Journal, as now bound, contains also a few disjointed entries and transcripts relating to the latter part of the First Dutch War, but naturally nothing of a personal nature.

All of his Journal that relates to his activities as a naval commander is contained in a single volume, which covers the period 12th March 1658/9 to 13th September 1665, when he returned to the Nore from the final short, but successful, cruise of that year in the North Sea. His Journal as second in command of the fleet in 1672 probably perished with him in the *Royal James*; at any rate it is not preserved at Hinchinbrooke with the rest of his papers.

During the years 1659-1665 his work afloat was varied and important; including, as it did, the expedition to the Sound, the Restoration, the operations against Algiers, the acquisition of Tangier, the home-coming of the new Queen, the mobilisation of 1664, the battle of Lowestoft, the failure at Bergen, and the capture of the Dutch East-Indiamen in 1665. The list is a long one, covering nearly the whole of the more important work

of the Navy for those years, and in every case save one Sandwich was the leading figure.

For the most part his Journal is in his own writing. Even where this is not the case, notably in the first section relating to the voyage to Denmark, there are frequent additions and corrections by his own hand. One of the most noticeable things about it is the evidence that he took far more interest in the purely nautical side of his profession than one would expect of a young 'gentleman admiral.' In the *Dictionary of National Biography* Sir John Laughton expressed the opinion that 'his scientific studies were probably vicarious.' If the Journal had been accessible at the time, this view would, I think, have been modified, for there is abundance of evidence that Sandwich did his own navigation while at sea and spent a great part of his time in harbour in surveying work. Two comets which appeared in the winter and spring of 1664-5 provided him with plenty of scope for his observations, and he took full advantage of his opportunities in this respect.

In the sphere of tactics his ideas seem to have been almost in advance of his time. There can be little doubt that the adoption of a prearranged 'line of battle,' in which every ship had her appointed station, was very largely due to his influence; while another suggestion of his, to contract and strengthen the line by leaving out the hired merchantmen, was so revolutionary that he could not secure its adoption. It has been said that 'the accidents of fortune and the sensational manner of his death have perhaps given Sandwich a greater reputation than he deserved.' A study of his career in the light thrown by his Journal has brought me to a somewhat different conclusion. Fortune, no doubt, favoured him in many ways, but it certainly placed him on the stage at a time when it was not easy to outshine the other performers. With Blake, Monk, Rupert, and the Duke of York ahead of him or beside him, it cannot have been easy for him to come to the front; while, with Ruyter and Tromp as adversaries, there was no chance for any English commander to establish a reputation cheaply.

It is useless to speculate what he might have done had he lived. We cannot even tell whether he would have had the chance to show what he could do, for we cannot say how his claims and those of Rupert would have been reconciled. Even if he had had his chance as commander-in-chief, he would have had, as Rupert had, the difficult task of handling a fleet composed of ships of two nationalities against one of the greatest sea commanders in history. Any man might fail in such circumstances, and yet Sandwich might well have been the man to succeed.

I do not propose to deal with his work in Spanish waters in 1656 or in the Channel in 1657 and 1658. This has been described in fair detail by Mr. F. R. Harris in his *Life of Edward Mountagu, K.G., First Earl of Sandwich*. It will be quite enough to consider such portions of his life and of our naval history as are covered by the Journal here printed, the years 1659 to 1665.

When Mountagu was sent with an English fleet to the Sound, it was as a consequence of four years of almost continuous war among the countries bordering on the Baltic. Karl Gustaf of Sweden (Charles X) who had succeeded to the throne on the abdication of Queen Kristina in 1654, lost little time in plunging into war abroad as the easiest way of relieving the poverty of his dominions. Of his possible enemies, Poland seemed best to combine weakness and wealth ; while the fact that John Casimir, King of Poland, was a claimant to the Swedish throne in the right of his father, Sigismund III, provided the necessary excuse for aggression.

Landing in Swedish Pomerania in July 1655, Karl Gustaf soon overran the whole of Poland. Only the semi-independent city of Danzig held out against him, and it was Danzig, with its important foreign trade, that brought the Dutch into the field. During the latter part of 1655 the Swedish fleet had been levying toll on all ships entering or leaving Danzig, but in the following year a real blockade was established instead, and this was more than the Dutch could stand. In July 1656 a large Dutch fleet under Jacob van Wassenaer (Lord of Obdam)

with de With, Ruyter, and the younger Tromp as his flag officers, arrived off Danzig and forced the small Swedish blockading squadron to withdraw; this was followed in September by the conclusion of a treaty which left the Dutch free to trade with Danzig as usual.

Meanwhile Polish resistance had revived and Russia had begun to attack Swedish Livonia. Karl Gustaf had found a somewhat unwilling ally in the Elector of Brandenburg, with whose aid Warsaw was taken for the second time, but even so his position was far from satisfactory. His attempts to form an alliance with England led only to an agreement by which England secured the same trading rights as the Dutch in return for permission to recruit volunteers for the Swedish army in England and Scotland.

Next year things became even more serious, for in May both Austria and Denmark were added to the list of Sweden's enemies; but this new situation, instead of crushing Karl Gustaf's dreams of increasing his territories south of the Baltic, came almost as a welcome relief, since it afforded an excuse for abandoning the struggle in Poland and turning on a foe whose overthrow would give him even more important spoils. Denmark, or at least the mainland of Denmark, had been conquered by Swedish forces from Germany in 1644 and the same thing might well happen again. With this in mind he turned his back on Poland and marched through Pomerania to attack the Danes.

His success was overwhelming. Driving the Danish invaders out of Bremen he passed through Holstein and entered Jutland in triumph. For the moment he could get no farther, for his fleet, though superior in numbers to that of Denmark, had only been able to fight an indecisive action. An exceptionally severe winter gave him his opportunity; in one of the boldest and most successful operations ever known he led his army over the ice from island to island till he reached Zealand, the chief island of Denmark, in the middle of February 1657/8. Copenhagen was practically defenceless, and the Danes had to accept such terms as they could get. Naturally

these were hard ; all territory in what is now the south of Sweden together with the outlying island of Bornholm had to be ceded, and besides this Frederik III of Denmark had to join in an alliance by which any fleet hostile to either of the Scandinavian kingdoms was to be excluded from the Baltic.

The Dutch could hardly be expected to acquiesce in such an arrangement as this. At first they merely encouraged the King of Denmark to delay the ratification of this clause ; but when Karl Gustaf took up arms again to enforce it, they came forward openly as allies of Denmark against him. The interval of peace had been very short ; the treaty of Roeskilde had been signed at the end of February, and by the middle of August the Swedes were again on the soil of Zealand as enemies.

The Danish fleet was unready and was at once blockaded in Copenhagen, while the whole of Denmark, except the capital, was rapidly subdued. Now the Dutch came on the scene in force. With a fleet of 41 ships Wassenaer left Holland in October, and at the end of that month he passed the Sound and attacked the Swedish fleet. This consisted of 45 ships rather more powerful on an average than those of the Dutch, but it was unable to prevent the Dutch from reaching Copenhagen and lost, in fact, five ships to the enemy's one. The Danish fleet could now join the Dutch, and the superiority at sea passed from the hands of the Swedes to those of their enemies, leaving Karl Gustaf and his army cut off on a hostile island of no great size, though still threatening the enemy's capital.

In spite of the fact that the interests of England and of the United Provinces were identical, so far as securing a free passage through the Sound was concerned, mutual jealousy and distrust made it almost impossible for them to act together. Less than five years had elapsed since the Dutch and the Danes had been in alliance against England, while recent events off Dunkirk and in the East Indies had done much to keep the old antagonism alive. Thus the very fact that the Dutch were supporting Denmark made it almost certain, quite apart from

considerations of general policy, that England would incline to the Swedish side.

If Oliver Cromwell had not died, as he did, in September 1658, it is possible that England might have been represented in Danish waters as soon as the Dutch and in as great a force. As it was, a fleet was indeed sent ; but it was too weak to count for much, even if it had been in time, which was far from being the case. To tell the truth, it is hard to see what purpose there could be in sending a fleet of less than half the strength of the Dutch, and sending it so late in the season that it would obviously be able to do nothing, even if it could reach the Sound at all. This, however, is what was done.

On 13th November 1658 a fleet of 20 ships was ordered to be sent to the Sound with William Goodson in command as Vice-Admiral. The list was as follows :¹—Swiftsure 64, Speaker 58, Plymouth 54, Newbury 58, Gloucester 60, Bridgewater 58, Essex 50, Newcastle 44, Ruby 42, Centurion 44, Nantwich 40, Preston 42, Adventure 36, Assurance 34, Maidstone 40, Expedition 32, Fagons 22, Forester 26, Elias 38, Hind ketch. All these, except the Essex, Maidstone, and Expedition, were already in the Downs and sailed thence on 17th November, while the Expedition left the Thames on the 18th to join them.

The two remaining ships, the Maidstone in the Thames and the Essex in the Medway, had been told off for special duty. Together with a Swedish ship they were to transport to Sweden a force of 300 or more officers and men recruited in England and commanded by Sir George Ayscue, who had been given a Swedish commission as Admiral on 26th August. Ayscue was supposed to be accompanied by 14 captains and 14 lieutenants, but the only name recorded by Swedish authorities is that of Owen Cox, who received a commission as Major (Rear-Admiral) in October. The Swedish envoy, Duwall, sailed for home at the same time.

While the Maidstone was waiting for Ayscue and the Essex was wind-bound at Gillingham, Goodson had

¹ Public Record Office, *S.P.* 18, vol. 183, doc. 100. Guns from list for next year.

begun his voyage. He left Aldborough Bay on 18th November, but met with strong N.E. winds and was back again on the 22nd.¹ The Centurion, anchoring in a heavy sea, lost her bowsprit and this led to the loss of her foremast and main topmast.² Sending her to Harwich for repairs Goodson took the first opportunity to start again. On 3rd December he sailed, and on the 9th he reached the Skaw.³ The Fagons, sent on in advance with despatches for Meadows, the English representative at the Swedish court, managed to reach Elsinore on 14th December,⁴ but the rest of the fleet was prevented by continuous easterly winds from rounding the Skaw. They were joined there on 10th December by the Essex, Maidstone, and Hind,⁵ and probably by the Swedish ship, though she is not mentioned.

At length, on 15th December, Goodson decided to return home. That night the wind rose to a gale and his ships suffered severely. The Bridgewater ran into the stern of the Swiftsure, Goodson's flagship, and lost her bowsprit, foremast, and mainmast. The Preston lost her bowsprit, foremast, and main topmast, the Ruby sprung her mainmast and bowsprit, and nearly every ship was damaged in hull or spars. None was lost, and at various dates between 22nd December and 28th they anchored on the English coast in groups scattered between Yarmouth and Harwich.⁶

The Bradford 28 had been sent after the fleet with letters for Meadows. She had met Goodson off the Skaw on 11th December and had returned when he did, but chose the Humber as a refuge.⁷ The Centurion, after refitting, left Harwich just as the fleet left the Skaw for home. She also had letters to deliver and she also failed; in her case the difficulty was caused by ice and by lack of wind. After waiting at the Skaw from 26th December to 6th January, she gave it up and returned.⁸

It is difficult to say exactly what happened to Ayscue's

¹ *S.P.* 18, vol. 183, 137.

² *S.P.* 18, vol. 195, 150-152.

³ *S.P.* 18, vol. 200, 5.

⁴ *S.P.* 18, vol. 184, 40.

⁵ *S.P.* 18, vol. 197, 1.

⁶ *S.P.* 18, vol. 184, 79, etc.

⁷ *S.P.* 18, vol. 197, 7.

⁸ *S.P.* 18, vol. 200, 68.

party. According to Zettersten's *Svenska Flottans Historia* they reached Helsingborg in December. This is obviously wrong, because reports of 28th December from the Essex and Maidstone in Aldborough Bay state quite definitely that Ayscue, Duwall, and nearly 200 of their men were still on board,¹ while a letter of the 24th from Yarmouth mentions the return there of the Swedish ship.² Apparently most of the men were landed at Harwich by the middle of January. Zettersten's reference proves on investigation to consist merely of an order for accommodation to be provided for Ayscue and his men; it does nothing to show when they actually arrived.

As a matter of fact, it can be shown from the Swedish side that they had not reached the Sound by 29th March, because the King wrote on that day to his representatives in England saying that he would be glad if Ayscue could bring as many as 600 men. On the other hand, Mountagu's Journal shows that Ayscue was certainly at the Swedish court before 15th May. How long he had then been there, how he had got there, whether Cox and the rest of the force had come at the same time and how many men there were, are all questions that need answering. The only information available is that the Swedish crews of three ships at Elsinore were ordered on 30th June to be replaced by English, and that these ships shortly formed part

¹ *S.P.* 18, vol. 197, 28 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, 11. Goodson's letter of 6th Jan. points out that the ship was called 'Angle,' not 'Eagle,' as the authorities in London supposed. Later he calls her 'Angell' (*S.P.* 18, vol. 200, 19 and 31). This suggests that her real name was 'Engel' (Angel). There was a merchantman of this name in the Swedish fleet in 1658, but she was in the Baltic and spent the winter near Stockholm. A ship 'Rafael' was sometimes called 'Engel Rafael,' but she was actively employed in Danish waters at this time. It can only be a coincidence that this ship was sold in 1661 to Owen Cox, who had been connected with the 'Engel' in 1658-9. On the other hand, there was an 'Engel' under Cox in the summer of 1659 (she was one of the ships which were given English crews), and it seems possible that we have to do with two ships of the same name.

of a squadron under Cox ; roughly speaking, this would account for 300 men.

It seems certain that neither Ayscue nor his men were taken to Sweden by the Maidstone, which was ordered back to the Sound on 16th January. She reached Elsinore on 27th January, lay at Landscrona, on the Swedish side of the Sound, for the greater part of February and March, and was back at Harwich early in April 1659.¹ Meanwhile the Fagons had left Elsinore on 24th December with pilots for Goodson's fleet and with despatches from Meadows. After going aground near Anholt she reached the Skaw long after Goodson had left for home. She cruised in those waters till 21st January and then, finding it impossible to get back to Elsinore, went to Gothenburg, where she was frozen in. At length, with help from the Swedish authorities, she cut her way out on 1st March and returned to England.²

Long before Mountagu sailed for the Sound, in fact while Goodson was still waiting for favourable weather, the Dutch were proposing to strengthen their forces in Denmark by sending another 4000 soldiers escorted by a small squadron under Ruyter. At the same time it was intended that Wassenaer should come home with his larger ships and that Ruyter should take over the command. The arguments of the English and French representatives at the Hague, and perhaps the danger of meeting Goodson's fleet, caused these steps to be postponed for the winter. It was, however, only a postponement, as far as the sending of Ruyter was concerned, and it gave time for his force to be increased to such an extent that Mountagu eventually found himself in the presence of two Dutch fleets, each roughly equal in strength to his own.

The following list of Mountagu's fleet is taken from Thurloe (VI 630) with the names of commanders added by comparing the lists in the Journal of those present at Councils of War with a list of the fleet in *Hollandsche Mercurius*.

¹ S.P. 18, vol. 202, 65.

² *Ibid.*, 10.

Naseby (flagship)	600 men	80 guns	Roger Cuttance
Swiftsure	350	64	William Goodson (Vice-Admiral)
London	460	64	Richard Stayner (Rear-Admiral)
Dunbar	400	64	Edward Blag
Triumph	350	64	Robert Clark
Rainbow	350	54	Anthony Young
Plymouth	260	54	Edward Witheridge
Gloucester	260	60	William Whitehorne
Speaker	260	58	Eustace Smith
Bridgewater	260	58	Anthony Earning
Newbury	260	58	Robert Blake
Tredagh	260	58	Thomas Teddiman
Torrington	260	56	John Harman
Essex	250	50	John Hayward
Worcester	240	50	Robert Nixon
Lion	220	52	John Lambert
Indian	220	50	Charles Wager
Leopard	220	50	Jonas Pool
Newcastle	180	44	Edmund Curtis
Winsby	180	46	Joseph Ames
Preston	170	42	Robert Robinson
Ruby	170	42	Robert Kirby
Centurion	170	44	Francis Parker
Great Charity	170	46	Bartholomew Ketcher
Nantwich	160	40	Bernard Gilpin
Jersey	160	40	John Simonds
Maidstone ¹	160	40	
Portsmouth	160	40	Robert Sansum
Reserve	160	40	Robert Plumley
Assistance	160	40	Thomas Sparling
Advice	160	40	Francis Allen
Elizabeth	160	41	John Grimsditch
Adventure	150	36	Valentine Totnell
Elias	150	38	Mark Harrison
Success	140	38	Thomas Fleet
Assurance	140	34	Philip Holland
Expedition	130	32	Edward Thompson

¹ 'Already in the Sound.'

Basing	110 men	26 guns	Richard Hodges
Forrester	110	26	Anthony Archer
Bradford	110	28	Peter Bowen
Wexford (fireship)			
Vulture	„		
Cornelion	„		
Hind (ketch)			
Swallow	„		

All these (apart from the fireships and ketches) are included in the Dutch list with the exception of the Maidstone. On the other hand there are two ships not given by Thurloe, the Milkmaid (Melkmeyd) and Fagons. The latter should certainly be included, with Nicholas Parker as her commander ; the former is, I think, simply a mistake for Maidstone. Her captain's name is given as Thomas Pinxter, whereas the Maidstone next year was commanded by Thomas Penrose.¹ Another vessel which the Journal shows should be included is the Eaglet ketch.

The movements of Mountagu's own fleet are set out fully in his Journal, but those of the Dutch, Swedes, and Danes are not so clearly indicated. It seems, therefore, desirable to describe the sequence of events in some detail ; so that Mountagu's purely naval difficulties—quite apart from any matter of politics, English or international—may be rendered more intelligible.

After the battle of the Sound the Swedes had retired to Landskrona, a harbour on their own side of the Sound about 15 miles from Copenhagen. Early in November about half the Dutch fleet, together with a few Danish ships, took up a position off the port ; but their blockade, as might be expected from the fact that they were only

¹ A list of commanders proposed by the Commissioners of the Admiralty on 22nd Feb. 1659-60 for the next ' Summer Guard ' gives Thomas Penrose for the Maidstone and notes that ' the Capt. hath a commission ' (Carte MSS., vol. 73, f. 222). Penrose was one of those who signed the letter from the fleet to the Lord Mayor on 21st Dec. 1659. Pepys in his list of the fleet at the Restoration (as printed) gives the name as Pomeroy. I have seen the *Hollandsche Mercurius* list only in the form of a manuscript copy made about 1800.

about half as many as the Swedes, was so ineffective that small Swedish detachments were able to put to sea at will. On the Danish side there was a proposal to transport part of the army under the Elector of Brandenburg from Kiel to Zealand for the relief of Copenhagen on the land side. This fell through, and the Elector turned his attention instead to the island of Als, off the Jutland coast. Four ships, two Danish and two Dutch, under the Danish Vice-Admiral Bredal, had been sent in the middle of November to provide the necessary naval support, and almost simultaneously a force of seven Swedes had left Landskrona for operations in the same direction. A few days later Major Uggla left Landskrona with another 5 ships, and on 4th December he arrived at Kiel with the combined force of 12 ships hoping to catch Bredal there. In this he failed; the attack on Sonderborg in Als had begun the same day and the Dano-Dutch detachment had gone there to assist. Bredal was mortally wounded in the attack and his successor, Captain Koningk, had withdrawn his ships to Flensburg on the mainland before the Swedes arrived. The best that Uggla could do was to take off the garrison of Sonderburg and land them in Fyen, the larger island on the other side of the Little Belt. Most of the Swedish ships were then taken to Korsoer on the S.W. side of Zealand for the winter, but Uggla with 4 ships went through the Great Belt with a view to joining the English under Goodson. This junction never took place, because Goodson never got past the Skaw, and Uggla, after a terrible voyage, proceeded to Gothenburg.

Next year, as soon as the ice permitted, another 3 ships were sent from Landskrona to join those at Korsoer in an attack on the Danes in Flensburg. Seven Swedish ships under Major Henrikkson were off the entrance to Flensburg fjord on 26th March, but head winds kept them out, and they went on to the south end of Langeland, some 25 miles to the east. There they were found on the 30th by a squadron of 9 ships, one Danish and seven Dutch, under the Danish Vice-Admiral Heldt. Of the 12 ships which had left Copenhagen on 28th March the

Danish flagship and two of the Dutch had gone aground, but Heldt had shifted his flag to one of the Dutch ships and gone on. The Swedes retreated at once ; two of their ships went ashore and one of these was taken, but the rest got away through the Little Belt, while Heldt went into Flensburg and joined the ships there.

Very soon he was blockaded in his turn. A fleet of 20 Swedish ships had left Landskrona on 29th March and arrived off Flensburg on 6th April, the day on which Mountagu reached Elsinore.¹ So far the Dutch had done little beyond sending out ships under the orders of Danish flag-officers, but now, with nine of his ships in a critical position, Wassenaer became more active. It was, however, three weeks before he was ready to sail, and in the meantime the King of Sweden used his temporary command of the sea to occupy the islands of Laaland and Falster, to the south of Zealand. On 27th April Wassenaer left Copenhagen with 17 Dutch ships, together with two Danes under Admiral Bjelke. Off Moen, the first island to the south of the Sound, they picked up another Dane and 6 Dutch ships, so that their total strength was 26 ships. Against this the Swedes under Admiral Bjelkenstjerna had 24 ships. The action which took place to the south of Laaland on 30th April was quite indecisive, but it ended in the withdrawal of the Swedes and the relief of the ships in Flensburg. Bjelkenstjerna was badly wounded and his successor, Vice-Admiral Gustaf Wrangel, took the fleet slowly back to Landskrona. He passed the English fleet off Elsinore on 17th May (though Mountagu's Journal does not mention it) and entered Landskrona on the 20th, leaving 5 ships under Ugglå to ' blockade ' Copenhagen.

Meanwhile the fleet under Wassenaer and Bjelke had left Flensburg on 6th May and had anchored on the 18th off Nyborg in Fyen, an island in the hands of the Swedes. Two days earlier Mountagu, with the assistance of a Council of War, had decided to sail to the northern end

¹ Mountagu's Instructions for this expedition are printed in Appendix I.

of the Great Belt to prevent a junction between this fleet and the second Dutch fleet under Ruyter, which was expected at any moment, this being a duty on which his Instructions had laid stress. Before this plan could be carried out there arrived news which altered the whole aspect of the situation. The first and least important point was that negotiations were on foot for combined action between the Dutch and English with a view to putting a stop to the war between Sweden and Denmark; the other was that Richard Cromwell had been forced by the Army to dissolve Parliament and that the era of settled government in England was at an end. Two Councils of War were held: the first, on 18th May, decided that a station off Kullen, just outside the Sound, was 'the best place (as things now stand) for the present station of the fleet'; the second, on 20th May, 'resolved unanimously that it is most advisable that with the first opportunity of wind and weather the fleet set sail for the Skaw, as being the best place for answering all ends.'

Mountagu had already left the Sound, and on the 21st he started for the Skaw. Next day he received a letter from the English resident at the Hague to the effect that an agreement had been concluded on 11th May for joint action by Holland and England and that the Dutch Plenipotentiaries for this purpose were on their way. At the same time he heard that Ruyter's fleet was at or very near the Skaw. Another Council of War was promptly held and as a result of its deliberations the English fleet anchored again off Kullen on 23rd May.

Ruyter had rounded the Skaw on the very day that Mountagu had received news of the new situation. He intended to join Wassenaer at once, but lack of wind kept him in the Kattegat between Laesö and Anholt for several days, and it was not till 31st May that he anchored between Hjelm and Veirö at the northern end of the Belts. Meanwhile the Elector had taken the last Swedish position on the mainland and was preparing to attack Fyen from the west. To prevent this another Swedish division left Landskrona on 27th May. This force, consisting of 17 ships under Vice-Admiral Gustaf Wrangel, started

northwards, but met head winds and had to return southwards past Copenhagen on the 29th. On 3rd June Wrangel was joined off Femern by three ships from Wismar. His instructions were that he must reach the Little Belt, destroy the enemy's transports and land his troops before 8th June, when a 3-weeks truce that had been arranged with the Dutch was due to expire. Since the wind was still against him, there seemed no prospect of being able to do this; so he returned as far as Moen and sent for orders. The King answered angrily that he was to proceed as arranged; so on the 11th he once again went northwards through the Sound and finally reached Fyen on the 13th; from there he went into the Little Belt.

The position there had already changed to the disadvantage of the Swedes with the capture by the Elector on 1st June of the small island of Faenö, the first step in the crossing to Fyen. The same day Wassenaer withdrew most of his ships from Nyborg and moved north to meet Ruyter, who joined him on the 7th near the north-east coast of Fyen. Strictly speaking, the junction of the two fleets took place on the 13th off Nyborg, but they had been in close touch for several days; in fact, Wassenaer had been on board Ruyter's ship on the 10th. As soon as the reorganisation of the fleet was complete Wassenaer took it to the north of Fyen, between that island and Samsö, to cut off Wrangel's retreat. This was on 16th June, and the extended armistice was due to expire on the 18th.

Wrangel had had one small success in driving off two Dutch ships which were lying to the north of the Little Belt and in forcing one of them ashore, where she had to be burnt. Now, in his turn, he was in a very difficult position. He must either go southward through a very narrow passage with both shores in the hands of the enemy or northward past a fleet which would certainly be able to destroy his small squadron.

He was saved by the arrival of the English fleet. Mountagu gives no indication in his *Journal* of the reasons which prompted him to sail to the Belt at this

time, but he does record that the King of Sweden returned to Kronborg on the 12th and that he sent the English Admiral a present next day. He may have been merely carrying out his Instructions to prevent the transport of the Brandenburgers to the Danish islands, but his movements were so perfectly timed for the purpose of saving the Swedish squadron, that it is hard to believe that they were not intended with that object. Wassenaer had anchored off the north coast of Fyen about midday on 16th June and that very evening the English fleet appeared off Refsnaes, some 12 miles to the N.E., having left its anchorage at the mouth of the Sound two days before.

Next day, after some exchange of letters, in which the commanders of the English and Dutch fleets endeavoured to reach an agreement as to their future action, Mountagu moved a little towards the south. Wassenaer took this as an attempt to get between him and the Danish ships under Bjelke, so weighed anchor as well and took up a new position on the Fyen side of the Great Belt and south of the English. This cleared the path for Wrangel, and on the 19th, while the Dutch and English were still busy exchanging letters, he passed northward bound for Landskrona, where he arrived on the 20th, to find himself dismissed from his command and imprisoned.

As a result of their letter-writing and of interviews between Ruyter and Mountagu and between Goodson and Wassenaer, it was arranged on 25th June that Ruyter's fleet should, for the present, be left in the Belt or thereabouts, that Wassenaer should be free to return to Copenhagen, if he wished, and that Mountagu should go back to the northern entrance to the Sound. In accordance with this agreement the three fleets sailed on the 26th, the English northwards and the Dutch, with the Danes, southwards. Mountagu reached the Sound next day, but did not stop outside as the Dutch seem to have expected; instead, he went on to an anchorage between Copenhagen and the island of Hven, nearer to Copenhagen than he had been at any time previously. By the original agreement at the Hague the Dutch and English fleets were to observe neutrality for three weeks from the day

on which this arrangement was notified to the English admiral. This period had expired on 12th June, the day before the official junction of Ruyter's and Wassenaer's fleets. Now, by the agreement between Mountagu and Wassenaer, the neutrality was extended for another three weeks, to end on 3rd July. In accordance with their undertaking the Dutch fleets parted company off Femern on 30th June, Ruyter remaining there and Wassenaer, accompanied by Bjelke and the Danish ships, going on towards Copenhagen. His own Journal says that he anchored off Dragör, just south of Copenhagen, at 8 A.M. on 3rd July. Mountagu mentions his arrival on the previous evening; but Danish accounts put the date as 2nd-3rd July, so the probable explanation is that the Danes and some of the Dutch were able to make the designed anchorage before dark, while Wassenaer and the rest of his fleet had to wait till daylight.

On his arrival the 10 Swedish ships which were lying off Copenhagen retired at once to Landskrona. He was, however, too late to intercept a reinforcement of three ships which had reached Landskrona from Stockholm on 18th June. On the other hand the sight of part of the Dutch fleet on 30th June had been enough to put a stop to another Swedish attempt to support the garrison of Fyen. Major Uggle had left Landskrona on 23rd June with 11 ships of Wrangel's squadron bound for the Little Belt by the southern route; on sighting the Dutch he kept on into the Baltic and went as far as the island of Bornholm. From there he went to Bodekull, near Karlskrona. After staying there a week he returned towards the Sound, sighted the Dutch again, and promptly went back to Bodekull. He did reach the southern end of the Great Belt on 1st August, but by then his ships and crews were in too bad a state to accomplish anything.

In the early part of July there was a gradual concentration of the opposing, or potentially opposing, forces into two bodies, one south of Copenhagen and one north. Ruyter left Femern on 3rd July, with the expiration of the period of neutrality, and joined Wassenaer on the 7th. About the same time Ayscue, now in command as a

Swedish admiral, took 12 large ships from Landskrona to join the English fleet. It does not appear that the two fleets were ever actually combined, but Ayscue was certainly in the Sound with his ships and, as Mountagu's Journal shows, was on board the English flagship on 8th July.

There were still some Dutch and Danish ships in the Little Belt, where an attempted landing in Fyen had been repulsed on 26th June, and yet another Swedish squadron left Landskrona on 6th July to deal with them. This time Cox, the English officer, was in command, and this time there was no large hostile fleet in the way. Reaching his goal on 20th July Cox found that the enemy had gone to Ebeltoft, some 40 miles to the north, to collect transports for another attack on Fyen. He followed at once, and having a superiority of 7 to 5 in numbers and about 2 to 1 in guns he was able to annihilate his enemy. One Dutch ship blew up, the rest were captured and the transports were burnt. At Aarhus Cox burnt a number of other transports, and on 29th July he was back in the Sound. Next day he was promoted to Vice-Admiral.

By the Hague Agreement of 11th May both England and the Netherlands were to send plenipotentiaries to settle the terms of peace between the two Northern Kings. The Dutch Commissioners had reached Elsinore as far back as the last week in May, but their English colleagues did not arrive till 20th July. With their arrival began the period of wrangling described in Mountagu's account appended to his Journal. Quite apart from difficulties with the Danes, the Swedes or the Dutch, there were disagreements among the English Commissioners themselves, and these were aggravated rather than eased by the fact that Mountagu himself had been made one of the four Commissioners on the English side. There can be no doubt that by this time Mountagu was in touch with the English Royalists, and it is probable, if not more, that he was anxious to get the English fleet back to England in time to help in a prospective Royalist rising. On the other hand one of his colleagues, Algernon

Sydney, was a strong Commonwealth man, and he was probably equally anxious to keep the fleet in the Sound, where it could not interfere in affairs at home.

Mountagu had his way in the end, though too late to produce any immediate effect on English politics. His arguments are set out at length in his own writing, but the gist of them was as follows : It was intended that the Dutch and English should both reduce their forces in the Sound, but should leave a joint fleet sufficiently powerful to turn the scale against whichever of the two Kings should refuse to accept their mediation. From the Dutch side it was suggested that a reasonable fleet could be formed by leaving 15 English and 25 or 30 Dutch ships. Mountagu insisted that not more than 20 Dutch ships ought to be left, if the English force was to be cut down to 15. Even so, the Dutch seemed slow to act, and their Commissioners said that they would have to send home and get exact orders as to which ships were to stay and which to go, before they could do anything towards reducing their forces. To Mountagu it appeared to be a question of keeping his whole fleet or of leaving the scene altogether. His own inclinations were no doubt in favour of the latter course and the lack of provisions gave him a valid excuse. Backed up by his flag-officers, Goodson and Stayner, he carried his point and on 26th August the fleet set sail for England.

Goodson had expressed the opinion that five weeks' provisions at full allowance was the minimum necessary for a voyage by a single ship from the Sound to England. Mountagu notes in his statement that it was quite possible for the voyage to take from six to eight weeks. This being so, it was justifiable enough, when the stock of provisions was down to one month's, as was the case on 24th August, to insist on sailing for home, unless arrangements could be made for obtaining supplies locally. That the estimate was not far from the truth can be seen from the statement drawn up by Goodson on 9th September for such ships as were then with him. This statement, together with a letter from Goodson to the Admiralty and another to Mountagu, is printed as Appendix II. From Goodson's

letters there can be little doubt that he at least considered that the return was justified.

Wassenaer and Ruyter, together with a few Danish men-of-war and a large fleet of transports, had left their anchorage near Copenhagen on 23rd July to relieve Nakskov in Laaland. As a matter of fact that place had already surrendered, but in any case the Dutch were soon out of the game, for on the very next day Wassenaer received orders from the Dutch Plenipotentiaries to consider his fleet as neutral once more. He therefore lay idly off Moen island for three weeks ; then moved as far as Femern, where new orders reached him on 20th August. By these he was to convoy homeward-bound merchantmen through the Belt, while Ruyter and Evertsen brought the rest of the fleet to Copenhagen. There they arrived on 26th August, the day of Mountagu's departure and the day also of the King of Sweden's definite refusal of mediation of any sort.

A few words must be said as to the course of events after the withdrawal of the English fleet. Ayscue, of course, retired to Landskrona and Ruyter remained master of the Sound. Wassenaer took his convoy northwards and then returned slowly through the Great Belt. On 22nd October he left Copenhagen for home with 21 ships. The rest of the Dutch fleet, now under Ruyter, took the chief share in the combined expedition by which Fyen was recovered by the Allies in November. During their absence Ayscue was again in the Sound, but effected nothing ; he retired to Landskrona towards the end of November and Ruyter returned to Copenhagen for the winter early in the following month.

This was, to all intents and purposes, the end of the war. The Dutch were just preparing to assume the offensive with greater vigour in 1660, when, on 13th February, the King of Sweden died. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. Ruyter was ordered to take no further part in the war and negotiations for peace went on briskly. On 27th May 1660 a treaty of peace was signed at Copenhagen. Sweden gave back Bornholm and the Norwegian territory of Trondhjem, which had been

lost already, and the matter of preventing foreign fleets from entering the Baltic was dropped. Another treaty, signed a month earlier, had put an end to the war with Poland, the Emperor and Brandenburg.

From September 1659 to March 1659/60 Mountagu was ashore, for the most part in retirement at Hinchbrook. Of the troubles and intrigues of the autumn and winter his Journal says nothing; in fact, even for the final scenes of the Restoration it adds little to what was already known. Mountagu's place in command of the fleet had been taken by Lawson as Vice-Admiral and the new commander, by bringing the fleet up the Thames at a critical moment and by declaring firmly for the return of Parliament, had a great share in the series of events which made the Restoration inevitable. For the final stages he was no longer in chief command, for Mountagu was reappointed General of the fleet together with Monk, and while Monk maintained order ashore, Mountagu embarked to prepare the fleet for its coming duty of bringing back the King.

This section of Mountagu's Journal ends with his reception of the Order of the Garter on board the *Naseby* in the Downs. Other honours and appointments followed, among them the thanks of Parliament, the Earldom of Sandwich and the appointment by the Duke of York, now Lord High Admiral, as his 'Lieutenant, or Admiral and Captain General of the Narrow Seas.' This last, in this form, dated from 18th March 1660/1 and followed the sealing on 29th January of the Duke of York's patent.¹ Sandwich must have had some form of commission from the new régime several months before this; in fact, Pepys mentions it several times in a way which suggests that its preparation was a matter of difficulty, perhaps because the Lord High Admiral's own position had not yet been regularised.

In any case, whatever his official position, it was Sandwich who had to arrange and undertake the transport of various members of the royal family from the

¹ *Mariner's Mirror*, xii. 137, xiv. 27.

Continent and back thither in the autumn and winter following the Restoration. These were unimportant duties, and he kept no Journal, merely having those of Lawson and Teddiman copied into his own. However more important work was shortly to come, and it was not long after his formal appointment as Lieutenant to the Lord High Admiral and as Admiral of the Narrow Seas that he was called on to go further afield in execution of a series of difficult and delicate tasks in and about the Straits of Gibraltar.

When Sandwich sailed for the Mediterranean in the summer of 1661, the position thereabouts was as follows : Cromwell's Spanish war had more or less died with him in 1658 and the recall of the English Mediterranean squadron under Stoakes in June 1659 was merely the natural outcome of the change in English policy. France and Spain had concluded the treaty of the Pyrenees in November 1659, but Spain was still endeavouring to reconquer Portugal and that country was also at war with the Dutch, though their efforts in Europe were limited to the sending of squadrons to cruise against Portuguese trade. France had agreed with Spain not to give any help to Portugal, so that there was only England as a possible ally of that struggling country. Accordingly, even before the Restoration, efforts had been made to arrange a marriage between Charles II and Catherine, sister of the young King of Portugal, and to make the match more attractive, Tangier and Bombay were included in the dowry of the prospective bride. Both of these were in fact threatened by foreign enemies : Tangier by Spain, Bombay by the Dutch ; still, for the moment, they were available in exchange for English support, and in that way full use was made of them.

If England were to accept the Portuguese offers, it meant incurring the enmity, if not the actual hostility, of both Spain and the Dutch—an unnatural alliance, but for all that one with great possibilities of mischief. Before closing with Portugal it was essential to make sure of French support, and this could best be secured by the cession of Dunkirk. As a matter of fact, the announce-

ment of the Portuguese marriage was made before the final agreement about Dunkirk, but there can be very little doubt that the two transactions were in reality closely connected. Opinions will probably always differ as to how far the exchange of Tangier for Dunkirk was prompted by the conscious adoption of what has been called a 'Mediterranean policy,' and this is not the place to argue the question. It may however be pointed out that both parts of the exchange, the cession of Dunkirk and the occupation of Tangier, were accompanied by substantial gains in cash, the first as the actual price of the sale, the second as another part of the new Queen's dowry.

The main purpose of Sandwich's fleet was thus to make sure that Tangier passed into English hands without interference by the Spaniards or Dutch and to support Portugal against any possible combined action by those powers. When the first of these objects had been attained, the fleet could be used to bring the King's bride home in fitting state. Ostensibly it had another purpose, to curb the activities of the 'Turkish' pirates, in particular those of Algiers, and this is the only purpose mentioned in the Instructions printed as Appendix III. This was a well-worn excuse for sending a fleet to the Mediterranean or for a mobilisation by any of the Mediterranean powers, and in this case it was at least as well justified as usual. As a matter of fact, apart from obtaining satisfaction for damage inflicted by the pirates, there was another reason to explain such a step at this time by any of the Christian powers. Ever since 1645 a war for the possession of Crete had been going on between Venice and Turkey, and operations against the Sultan's African dependants formed a good way of helping Venice without becoming too far involved in the struggle.

Blake's attack on Porto Farina in 1655 had been a case in point. Primarily, no doubt, it was undertaken for selfish reasons, but all the same it was a distinct help to Venice. French aid was given in 1660 more directly, though less openly, for a French squadron sailing under

the Papal flag took 4000 French troops to Zante, whence they proceeded to Crete in Venetian ships. Having got rid of his troops, the Chevalier Paul, the French commander, attempted operations against the Barbary States without further disguise. He was quite unsuccessful; at Tripoli he had to pay for such captives as were released, at Tunis he could come to no agreement, at Algiers he could not even get a hearing. Early in 1661 he left Toulon again and was at sea, on and off, till August—again without much success; while at the same time preparations were made to send another fleet from the Atlantic ports of France. A Dutch squadron was also fitting out for the Mediterranean, so that it seemed likely that no less than three different countries would shortly be sending fleets through the Straits of Gibraltar on the same errand.

As things turned out, the French fleet was not ready till 1662. Of the other two, the Dutch were ready first, but were delayed by having to meet their homeward-bound East-Indiamen in the North Sea—an indication that war with England was by no means out of the question. In the end, when Ruyter left the Texel on 7th/17th July, Sandwich was just leaving Malaga, where he had arrived on 4th/14th July.

The two fleets were as shown in the following lists : ¹

<i>English Fleet</i>		<i>Dutch Fleet</i>	
Royal James	72	Liefde	60
Swiftsure	60	Geloof	58
Fairfax	54	Westvriesland	50
Montagu	54	Middelburg	42
Mary	54	Muiltromp	42
Newcastle	46	Vreede	42
Yarmouth	46	Doesburg	42

¹ Guns of the English ships from the 'War abroad' column of the Pepysian list. Those of the Dutch ships mainly from Brandt's *Leven van M. de Ruiter*, completed from the *Leven van C. Tromp*, etc. In addition to the ships mentioned Mountagu had 5 ketches and Ruyter a storeship. There were also 4 other Dutch ships in southern waters on a separate mission.

<i>English Fleet</i>		<i>Dutch Fleet</i>	
Portland	44	Vlissingen	42
Crown	42	Ter Veere	42
Hampshire	40	Stadt Uitrecht	42
Assurance	36	Prinses Louise	40
Nonsuch	32	Hollandsche Tuin	36
Augustine	26	Wapen van Alkmaar	36
Colchester	24	Asperen	32
Gift	14	Edam (or Bul)	32
Greyhound	14	Starre	32
Martin	10	Delft	32

They were thus very much on an equality, both in numbers and in strength, though the advantage, if any, probably rested with the Dutch in view of their greater uniformity. It is difficult to say what support either fleet might have expected from its allies in the event of an outbreak of hostilities. A letter of December 1657, printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, speaks of the Portuguese as having 20 ships of 30 guns and upwards, the flagship carrying 70, while the Spanish fleet in Cadiz at the same time is said to have consisted of the same number of ships of 30 guns or more with a flagship of 80 guns, besides 18 smaller ships. Another letter, of February 1662, says that 50 ships had been ordered to be fitted out in Spain, though it was doubtful if this was possible. The new flagship, launched in 1660, was a ship of 90 guns, larger than any English ship except the Royal Sovereign.¹ Probably a combination of the Dutch and Spaniards would have been superior on paper to one composed of English and Portuguese; but whether it would have proved stronger in practice is another matter.

Sandwich had one great advantage over Ruyter: he could, for the moment, use both Spanish and Portuguese harbours, while those of Portugal were closed to the Dutch. He had already visited Malaga and he was shortly at Alicante, where he had to go ashore for a week on account of 'a high fever.' In the interval he had been as far as the African coast, some 100 miles west

¹ Duro, *Armada Española*, v. 46.

of Algiers, but contrary winds had then prevented further progress, and his own illness had made it necessary to return to a friendly port.

It is possible that Sandwich heard at Alicante that Ruyter was not yet within striking distance ; at any rate he decided that there was still time to see what could be done at Algiers. Arriving there on 29th July he soon found that nothing could be done by negotiation. He therefore prepared for a fireship attack on the ships in the harbour, but was forestalled by the Algerines themselves. On 31st July they opened fire and a brisk action followed. Several of the English ships were damaged aloft and Sandwich claimed to have done some damage ashore, but on the whole the affair seems to have been a waste of ammunition on both sides. It was followed by a spell of northerly and easterly wind, which made it impossible for the proposed attack on the harbour to be supported by the ships' guns. Accordingly, seeing that the Algerines had used the time to strengthen their defences, a Council of War decided that the attempt must be abandoned, at least for the time being.

It does not seem that either Sandwich or Ruyter took the idea of a possible clash between their fleets very seriously. At any rate neither of them hesitated to divide his forces and even to take quite a small portion of his full fleet in a direction where he was likely to meet the other in unknown strength. Sandwich started from Algiers for Lisbon on 8th August with only 6 of his ships, leaving Lawson to cruise off the port with the remaining 10. About the same time Ruyter, who was then off Lagos in the south of Portugal, sent 6 ships to the Straits of Gibraltar and took the rest of his fleet into Cadiz to clean. Eventually, on 19th August, the two Admirals, with not more than two or three ships in company in either case, anchored side by side in Fuengirola Bay, a little to the west of Malaga.

The entry in Sandwich's Journal as to the information which he received from Ruyter of his having met some English ships off the Portuguese coast shows a discrepancy in dates from what is recorded in Brandt's *Life*

of *Ruyter*. Sandwich says the meeting took place on 18th/20th July, and that the English ships would have reached Lisbon by the 15th/25th, whereas the Dutch account puts the meeting on the 21st/31st. Probably the misunderstanding arose from the difference of Old and New Style dates. *Ruyter's* messenger may have used Old Style on purpose in talking to an Englishman and Sandwich may have supposed that he was using New Style. It is hard to see what purpose would have been served by intentional misrepresentation.

On the very day of his meeting with Sandwich *Ruyter* received orders from home to proceed to Cadiz and to make arrangements with the Spaniards to ensure the protection of the homecoming Plate Fleet against 'any-one who might seek to damage it, without distinction.'¹ No names were mentioned, but there can be no doubt that the English and Portuguese in conjunction were the enemy that he might expect to meet. Negotiations for peace between Portugal and the Netherlands were, in fact, in progress; but no agreement had yet been reached; Portugal and Spain were still at war, and the English would naturally support Portugal.

With this object, while Sandwich was carrying on unsuccessful negotiations with the Governor of Tetuan, *Ruyter* went straight to Cadiz, where he was joined by the last of his fleet; he then, at the request of the Spaniards, took up a position between Cape St. Vincent and Cape St. Mary, so as to cover the approach to Cadiz, and remained in those waters till 22nd September, when he heard quite unofficially that the Silver Fleet had been diverted to Corunna and had already been there for a fortnight. Hereupon he detached some ships to escort such Dutch merchantmen as were in company with the silver ships and returned with the rest of his fleet to Cadiz.

Sandwich had left Tetuan on 27th August, two days before *Ruyter* had sailed from Cadiz. He arrived in Lisbon on 6th September, and stayed there nearly a month. In the meantime the Portuguese Brazil fleet came in

¹ Brandt, p. 224.

without interference from Ruyter, who had been kept well out of the way by his unnecessary cruising off Cape St. Vincent. According to the account given by Sir Julian Corbett in his *England in the Mediterranean* (II. 27), Sandwich's part in the festivities in Lisbon on account of the Royal marriage was cut short by the sudden alarm that a combined Spanish and Dutch fleet was off Tangier. 'In the midst of the festivities he suddenly put to sea and sent forward a despatch vessel to Algiers to summon Lawson to his aid.' The suddenness of his sailing is certainly exaggerated and the only evidence that there was any expectation of a meeting with the Dutch and Spaniards is contained in a letter from Creed to Pepys. 'We had some expectations to have found a fleet of Spanish and Dutch men of war before this place,' says Creed, writing from Tangier on 14th October.¹ However, the time had come to move to Tangier in any case, and there is evidence that there was talk of the fleet's sailing as far back as 12th September. Edward Shepley wrote to Pepys on that date, saying 'we hear we shall suddenly set out to sea, but upon what design I know not: I guess to guard the Portugal Brazil fleet.'² On the previous day Sandwich himself wrote that he proposed to go to sea to look for 'Turks.' As printed in the *Report on the Eliot Hodgkin MSS.* his phrase is given as 'I go to sea again to[morrow] and see if we can light on any Turks.' The actual letter is now in my possession, and I can say quite definitely that the word 'tomorrow' is a mistake. The paper is damaged after the word 'to,' but the next word clearly begins with a 'c' and is followed by a second 'again.' I think there can be little doubt that the real reading is 'to cruise again and see.'³ In any case Sandwich did not sail; in fact he

¹ *Report on Eliot Hodgkin MSS.*, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ There is another misreading a few lines earlier. The correct reading should be as follows: 'Sir John Lawson hath taken 2 more of their men of war and put another on shore. Whilst rode in the bay we had a little exchange of shot with the town. . . .'

wrote on 22nd September that his ships would not be ready till the 24th, and that he hoped to see a forthcoming 'bull-running.' The bull-fight in question took place on 30th September and Sandwich was present; after that, on 3rd October, he sailed for Tangier. The message to Lawson at Algiers had been sent off as long ago as 9th September.

With both the Spanish and the Portuguese Atlantic trade safe in port there was little for Ruyter to do outside the Straits. He therefore moved from Cadiz to Malaga, with the intention of 'looking for Turks' in his turn. Apparently he left Cadiz almost simultaneously with Sandwich's sailing from Lisbon and passed into the Straits just ahead of him. On the day that Sandwich anchored at Tangier, 10th October, Ruyter entered Malaga, where he found Lawson on his way from Algiers to join Sandwich. Since both English and Dutch fleets were ostensibly in Mediterranean waters with the same object, Lawson felt justified in arranging for signals for mutual recognition. In Brandt's words, 'Lawson asked for the Dutch signals to recognise one another by day or night when chasing the Turks. But whether this request was granted, I do not know.' Sir Julian Corbett says definitely that 'Ruyter, too old a hand to be drawn by so barefaced a confidence trick, refused.' Apparently he did not refuse, since there is in existence a document, signed by him on 12th/22nd October, laying down the signals by day or night and also the sign and countersign by which Dutch and English ships were to recognise one another. This document is in the collection of the Scheepvaart Museum in Amsterdam, and has recently been printed as Appendix V of Dr. P. J. Blok's *Michiel Adriaanszoon De Ruyter*.

After this Ruyter and Sandwich both turned to their ostensible purpose of checking the depredations of the African pirates and, in the case of Sandwich, of making sure that the cession of Tangier should go off without a hitch. The story that Lawson was seen 'flying to windward amongst several of the Dutch fleet,' as given by Sir Julian Corbett, is based on a previous misreading of

Sandwich's Journal;¹ the words should be 'plying to windward.' The report given under the same date (9th December) that seven Dutch ships had been seen making their way out of the Straits in the direction of Cadiz is confirmed by the *Life of Ruyter*; but there was nothing sinister in their movements, as Sir Julian Corbett suggests. In fact, it seems very doubtful whether Sandwich was feeling any anxiety about the doings of the Dutch at this date. If he were, it is strange that the arrival of Lawson from Gibraltar on 13th December 'with news of the arrival of the galleons at Cadiz,' where some of the Dutch ships were supposed to have gone, should have been followed at once by the decision to send part of the fleet back to Algiers. It cannot have been due to the knowledge that Ruyter 'had retired to Port Mahon in Minorca to careen,' because that did not happen till afterwards.

For some months Sandwich had been anxiously awaiting the arrival of the English troops who were to form the new garrison of Tangier. Repeated entries in his Journal show how he enquired from every ship from England which he met, what news there was as to the sailing of the transports and their escorting fleet. It was by no means certain that the Portuguese Governor would give up the place as agreed, and it was even less certain that he could hold it against Moorish attacks instigated by Spain for long enough to let the English arrive. At last Sandwich got a chance to make sure of both matters. On 12th January 1661/2 a sortie by the Portuguese was repulsed with heavy loss, and on the 14th the Governor in alarm sent to accept an offer made by Sandwich a week before, that he should land men from the fleet to help in the defence. Two days later Sandwich landed 80 men; another 120 followed on the 17th and 100 more on the 22nd; so that Sandwich could then write in his Journal that he had 'the command of all the strengths and magazines.'

¹ A large part of Sandwich's Journal for this Mediterranean cruise was printed in Kennet's *Register*, but not always either fully or correctly.

To all intents and purposes Tangier was now in English hands. Peterborough had left the Downs on 15th January and arrived in Tangier Bay with his troops on 29th January. Formal possession was taken next day, but the real transfer of authority had already taken place, and it was in fact Sandwich and not the Portuguese Governor who handed over the town. The fleet in which Peterborough had been transported was under the command of Sir John Mennes as Vice-Admiral and consisted of the following ships : ¹

<i>Men-of-War</i>		<i>Merchantmen</i>	
Henry	72	Tobias	Happy Adventure
Lion	54	Great Alex-	Hopewell
York	52	ander	Paul
Dover	42	Elias	Concord
Bredah	36	Unicorn	William and
Pearl	28	Olive Branch	Thomas
Dartmouth	28	James	Love

At the same time the Royal Charles 76 ² sailed from the Downs for Lisbon to become Sandwich's flagship for the homeward voyage and to receive the Queen and her retinue. With the addition of these vessels to his available force, Sandwich became so much superior to the Dutch that there can have been no further danger of their interference, if there ever had been any such danger. As a matter of fact, Ruyter had by now left the neighbourhood of the Straits for Minorca, where he was cleaning his ships in preparation for more decided action against the pirates of Algiers and Tunis. The French fleet was not yet ready, and there was no prospect of an immediate

¹ Compiled from two lists of 11th Oct. in *S.P. Dom.* Ch. II. 43 and from various references in *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661-2. One list has the merchantman Griffin added by another hand. Possibly she took the place of the Hopewell, which was aground in the Downs in December. These names at least make up the number of 19 sail with which Peterborough is said to have left the Downs. Guns are 'war abroad' figures.

² Formerly the Naseby.

challenge to the English hold on Tangier from any quarter. Sandwich could therefore proceed to carry out the next part of his duties, the embarkation of the Queen in Lisbon and her transport to England. First he had to see about the removal of the Portuguese inhabitants from Tangier ; this took some time, and he employed his leisure in surveying the harbour and choosing the site for the proposed breakwater. Then, having sent Stayner with reinforcements for Lawson before Algiers, he put to sea on 18th February bound for Lisbon.

His stay there was longer than he had expected. The stipulated dowry of the new Queen was slow in materialising, and was in fact never completely paid. Charles II and his bride wrote letters to one another expressing their wish to meet at the earliest possible moment, but, even so, there were many delays. At last, on 15th April, he left the Tagus with his flag in the Royal Charles, and with the Queen and her suite safely on board. The voyage was slow, the Queen and her ladies were bad sailors, but at length, on 14th May, the fleet reached Spithead, and the Queen landed at Portsmouth. A week later the English marriage ceremony took place, and two days after that Sandwich was home with his family in London.

In March 1662 Sandwich had been pressed to recall Lawson's fleet from the Mediterranean to act as a guard for Lisbon against an expected attack by the Dutch and Spaniards when his own ships had left for England. In his Journal for 20th March he records telling the Queen that he had sent orders to this effect, but it is worth noticing that he does not mention actually despatching the message. At any rate there is no sign that Lawson took any notice of these instructions, and it is probable that, if his return to Lisbon was even suggested, he was left a very free hand in the matter. As a matter of fact Lawson, after careening at Toulon, was about to resume operations against Algiers and Stayner was about to join him from Malaga. He had already inflicted considerable damage on the Algerine rovers, and this revival of activity soon brought them to terms. A satisfactory agreement was concluded on 23rd April.

At this time Sandwich was struggling with head winds off the Portuguese coast, while Ruyter was on his way back to Cadiz with half his fleet to refit. The French fleet, having at last got to sea, had been at Cadiz on 17th March, and was now at Majorca after a barren cruise on the African coast. No doubt there was a certain amount of mutual suspicion, in spite of the fact that the objects of the three fleets were supposed to be the same, but there is very little sign that there was yet any danger of hostilities. Certainly Sandwich mentions the fact that Lawson had had to careen his ships outside Toulon, because the authorities there would not allow him in with his flag flying, but this was probably merely a question of touchiness on the matter of salutes; while the 'refusal of victual,' on which Sir Julian Corbett lays stress, seems to have been due more to a failure of credit than to political reasons.¹

In any case the French fleet was soon out of the picture. A cruise in May produced no result save a continuance of the quarrels between its commanders, and by the middle of June it was in harbour at Toulon with nothing accomplished. About the same time Ruyter returned to the Mediterranean and proceeded to Algiers. At first he could come to no agreement, but eventually on 6th November he was able to conclude a satisfactory 'peace'; he had made a similar arrangement at Tunis at the end of August, but so far had had no success in his negotiations with Tripoli. Lawson was more successful, or perhaps demanded less; at any rate he concluded treaties with both Tunis and Tripoli during the autumn. About the same time he paid a visit to Tangier, where his presence is said, on very doubtful grounds, to have prevented a combined attack by the Moors and a Spanish fleet. Early in November he was again at Algiers for the confirmation of his treaty, and there he exchanged visits with Ruyter, who had just concluded a treaty of his own.

Stayner with a few ships had arrived at Lisbon at the beginning of July, possibly in response to the Portuguese

¹ *Report on Eliot Hodgkin MSS.*, p. 162.

request for naval support. Soon after this he was seriously ill, and though he was said at the end of August to have recovered, he died early in October. His ship the *Mary*, and probably the rest of his division, returned to England at the beginning of November. Lawson with the rest of the Mediterranean fleet was home about 1st January 1662/3.

Ruyter remained in the Mediterranean a little longer, but was back in Holland in April 1663. He had left some of his ships under the orders of Tromp, who had gone out with a convoy at the end of 1662. The new commander had at first little to do, but at the end of 1663 was obliged to renew hostilities against the Algerines on account of their disregard of the 'peace' recently concluded. The same thing happened in the case of their relations with England. Lawson in the *Resolution* 58 had been sent out again in the spring of 1663 with a small squadron, and in November he returned with the news that the Algerines were renewing their demands of 'the right of search.' The Dutch Government now invited France, Spain, and England to make common cause with them against the pirates, but mutual distrust prevented this suggestion from bearing fruit. Spain was plotting an attack on Tangier, and England had already sent a squadron to assist English establishments on the coast of Guinea against their Dutch neighbours—a step which eventually led to the outbreak of the second Anglo-Dutch war.

Lawson was back again in the Mediterranean in January 1664, in time to anticipate any Spanish designs on Tangier. Proceeding to Algiers he enforced the release of a number of captured English ships and eventually reopened hostilities with a view to securing the return of the goods taken from them. At the end of April Ruyter left Holland with a fleet of 12 ships for the same goal. The two fleets met near Alicante on 3rd June. Ruyter saluted and struck his flag; Lawson returned the salute, but without striking, and explained that he had orders to that effect. After this Ruyter went on to Algiers, while Lawson careened his ships at Cadiz and

then took up his position at Tangier. Early in August they met again, first off Tangier and then at Malaga ; on both occasions salutes were exchanged without striking the flag on either side. To all appearances everything was friendly enough ; Lawson even offered his boats to take water to the Dutch ships, because they were not allowed to communicate directly with the shore, but in truth the two commanders were watching one another very closely. Ruyter had heard from home at the end of June that relations between Holland and England were in a critical condition, and there can be little doubt that Lawson had received similar information.

The immediate cause of this, apart from the underlying reasons of trade rivalry and the 'honour of the flag,' lay in the doings of a small squadron which had left England in October 1663 under Captain Robert Holmes of the Jersey to support the English African Company as against the Dutch, but with instructions to avoid fighting, if possible. Arriving on the Guinea coast at the beginning of January, Holmes was almost at once involved in open hostilities ; to such an extent that, in defiance of the letter of his instructions, he proceeded not only to attack and reduce the Dutch positions in turn, but even to cross the Atlantic and to capture the Dutch capital of New Amsterdam, now New York.

News of Holmes's doings in Africa reached both England and Holland in May. There was little doubt that war must follow, but for the moment neither side was ready. The English wanted to be able to say that the Dutch were the aggressors, and the Dutch on their side wanted to repair the damage that Holmes had done before plunging into war at home. Still, both sides began to mobilise ; in England Sandwich took command of a fleet of 18 ships in the Downs with orders to watch the movements of the Dutch and to insist, if need arose, on 'the honour of the flag'¹ ; in Holland, Tromp, who

¹ His Instructions for this service are printed as Appendix IV. In reply to an inquiry as to whether a single ship was to demand the salute from the whole Dutch fleet, the Duke of York wrote the letter printed as Appendix VI, saying that the

had returned from the Mediterranean on Ruyter's arrival, put to sea with 22 ships and escorted the home-coming Indiamen from Shetland to the Dutch ports.

About the same time secret orders were sent to Ruyter to leave the Mediterranean, fill up with provisions at Cadiz, and follow in Holmes's footsteps, to restore the Dutch position in Africa and America, and to inflict corresponding damage on the English in those parts. On the English side, Allen, Sandwich's Vice-Admiral, was sent to relieve Lawson. On 25th September, after ten days in Cadiz, Ruyter put to sea and passed close by Lawson and Allen, who were then lying in the bay, greeting them and being greeted in his turn with salutes, drinking of healths and wishes of *bon voyage*. In less than three weeks the Dutch were again masters of Goree, near Cape Verde, and had begun the process of undoing Holmes's work.

Meanwhile Lawson had gone home with two ships and Allen had entered the Mediterranean. At the same time the Dutch were preparing to send reinforcements to Ruyter, and the English were getting ready a fleet under Prince Rupert to sail to Guinea and protect Holmes's conquests. Nothing came of either plan. Rupert certainly left the Thames in October with his flag in the *Henrietta* and with a squadron of 12 men of war under his command, but he got no farther than Spithead, where his ships were absorbed in the main fleet, which was organised under the command of the Duke of York with Rupert and Sandwich as his chief flag officers. This fleet made a short cruise in the Channel at the end of November, 41 ships strong, and was then left at Spithead under Sandwich.

On their side the Dutch had intended to send 10 ships to convoy merchantmen to Guinea and to escort this squadron down Channel by a fleet of 39 ships under Obdam. This plan also fell through; operations so far necessity of making the demand was to be avoided if possible, but that the demand must be made if the situation arose, though it was not to be persisted in far enough to endanger the English ship.

afield were abandoned as if by mutual consent, and both sides spent the winter in preparing for the trial of strength in home waters.

The final spark to inflame the already smouldering fire was supplied by Allen in the neighbourhood of the Straits. After a visit to Algiers and the conclusion of yet another 'peace' he had returned to the entrance to the Mediterranean and there, after losing two ships by wreck, he attacked part of the homeward-bound Dutch Smyrna fleet on 19th December off Cadiz. Brakel, the Dutch commander, was killed, one of the merchantmen was sunk and two taken, the rest escaped into Cadiz. On hearing of this attack the States General, on 14th January 1664/5, declared war. Charles II did not follow suit till 4th March, but to all intents and purposes a state of war may be considered to have existed from the beginning of the year 1665.

During December and the greater part of January Sandwich lay inside the Isle of Wight, sending out small detachments to pick up Dutch prizes. At length, on 22nd January, he sailed for the Downs with 16 ships. Arriving there on the 27th he soon heard rumours that a Dutch fleet was preparing to attack whatever English ships they could find in those waters. The wind was then N.E., and he decided 'that we should not weigh but be as ready as we can'; however, on 1st February, with a shift of wind to E.S.E. and with the arrival of another two of his ships, he moved as far as Margate and sent out his small craft to investigate. There was no sign of the enemy, so he sent off the London and Montagu to refit, shifted his flag to the Revenge, and returned to the Downs. No sooner had he arrived there, on 8th February, than he received a report that the enemy were off Flamborough Head with 20 ships. At once he weighed again with the object of intercepting them on their return, only to hear on the 10th that the Dutch were back at Flushing. He lay at anchor in Sole Bay for two days and then cruised again in the southern part of the North Sea in very bad weather till 17th February, when he was back again in the Downs.

Now came a pause, while both sides mustered their resources for the coming struggle. Sandwich went ashore and was with his family in London for a month. For this time there is no entry in his Journal save for a note of the loss of his former flagship *London*, blown up in the Thames on her way from Chatham to the Hope to receive her new commander, Sir John Lawson. On 23rd March 1664/5 he embarked in the *Prince* at Gravesend, while the Duke of York went on down the river in his yacht to hoist his flag in the *Royal Charles* at the Gunfleet. Four days later Sandwich followed and joined the Duke and Prince Rupert in the *Royal James*. He describes the fleet as consisting then of about 50 sail, but there can be no doubt that its numbers were far greater. In proof of this it can be noted that the Journal for 7th April says the fleet was 'near 60 sail together,' whereas the list given under the same date shows a total of 84 men of war, 23 merchantmen, 4 fireships, and 22 small craft. Apparently Sandwich included only the regular men of war of the first four Rates in his calculations; this is interesting in view of his suggestion later on that the merchantmen should be left out of the line-of-battle and formed into a squadron by themselves.

Now came the question of what use should be made of the fleet. The information as to the enemy was that some two-thirds of their ships were in the Texel and the remaining third in the harbours of Zeeland, while the two portions together would form a fleet roughly equal to the English. There was also news that a fleet of 40 ships, which appeared to be Dutch, had been sighted on 4th April well out in the Atlantic in latitude 52°, steering as if to go north-about round Ireland and Scotland. This was believed to be the Dutch merchantment from Cadiz and the Straits with, perhaps, Ruyter's fleet also. It was not the latter, for Ruyter at this time was on his way from the African coast to the West Indies, but the report agrees well enough with a statement by the Swedish resident in Holland that a fleet of more than 40 Dutch merchantmen had left Rochelle on 1st April, bound for home round Scotland.

The King wanted these merchantmen captured, if possible. At the same time it was considered desirable to appear off the Dutch coast as a matter of 'reputation' and to endeavour to prevent the junction of the two portions of the Dutch fleet or to defeat them singly, if an opportunity arose. Lawson thought it would be best to remain on the English coast and wait till the Dutch fleet was at sea, his view being that a visit to the Dutch coast would merely exhaust supplies without doing anything useful, and that the Dutch would be able to do as they liked as soon as the English retired. Sandwich considered that it would be as well to cruise off the enemy's shores for a short spell, but to withdraw in plenty of time to be able to put to sea again at once if necessary. Rupert suggested a station off Goree, closer to the Zeeland ships than to those in the Texel. In the end the Duke decided to take up a position off the Texel 'and then to ply in the offing and work as weather and future circumstances occur.'

Before the fleet sailed two sets of 'Fighting Instructions' were circulated, a set of 16 articles following very closely those issued in 1654, with two additional articles which will be considered shortly, and a set of 10 'Additional Instructions' modifying and supplementing the former set. There was also issued—apparently for the first time in the case of a large fleet—a definite 'order of battle,' giving each ship her place in the line.

A similar 'order of battle,' for a very much smaller fleet, had been issued by Sandwich before sailing from the Downs on 1st February. It is impossible to say for certain that the idea originated with him, or that he was responsible for its adoption in this second case, but the probabilities seem to point in that direction. In any case the idea of a definite order would appeal to both the Duke and to Rupert as men of military experience. Rupert, we know, had complained to Pepys in the previous year that 'I can answer for but one ship, and in that I will do my part; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command everything.' To give each ship her fixed station would at least do something towards

allowing the commander-in-chief to 'command everything.' There is another sign of Sandwich's influence in the fact that the 15th article of the Instructions embodies paragraphs 2 and 3 of Sandwich's orders of February by supplying signals for coming to the wind on either tack from a line abreast before the wind.

When Sir Julian Corbett printed the Instructions of 1665 from the Dartmouth MSS. in his *Fighting Instructions* he said that the order of battle had not come down to us, but no doubt gave every ship her station in the line. Sandwich's Journal fortunately supplies the missing information; he has inserted the line of battle between his entries for 20th and 21st April, but has not recorded the Instructions, so that the Dartmouth and Sandwich MSS. are necessary complements to one another.

Mr. F. R. Harris, in his *Life of the First Earl of Sandwich*, noted that the Journal supplied the missing document and printed it as an appendix to his first volume. Unfortunately he took certain liberties with it. In the first place he altered the order of the squadrons, but not that of the individual ships. As given by Sandwich the line begins with the Guernsey and Henry of the Blue (Sandwich's) squadron and ends with the Paradox and Colchester of the White (Rupert's); thus the Forrester of the White squadron comes next to the Sapphire of the Red, whereas Mr. Harris shows them with two complete squadrons between them. He also added certain notes, such as 'Rear Admiral's van wing,' which do not appear in the MS.¹ A less important error is that he calls the list 'Line of Battle, June 3, 1665.' No doubt the alterations were small, but he himself notes that the Charity is not included and Sandwich records that the Vanguard had joined the fleet on 10th May.

On 21st May the fleet weighed anchor and two days later it was off the Dutch coast. At another Council of War it was decided that to take up a station suitable for

¹ There seems no doubt that it is the same document from which his appendix is printed, since he expressly mentions 'the plan of the line drawn up in his journal' and says in a footnote that 'so far no other such list has come to light.'

intercepting the ships from Zeeland would leave the way open for the home-coming merchantmen to get into the northern harbours, and that the other two objects, of capturing merchantmen and of forcing the fleet in the Texel to put to sea in their defence, would be best attained by taking up a position well out to sea to the N.W. from the Texel, and by riding there at anchor with scouts out in all directions. Before this station was reached the Duke broached the idea of going in close to the shore, to please the King, to discourage recruiting for the Dutch fleet, and to provoke Obdam into putting to sea. Sandwich himself was against this, but the proposition was carried, and on the 28th and 29th the fleet was in sight of the Texel and the ships there.

Next day, after again dismissing the idea of lying between the two divisions of the Dutch fleet and leaving the suggestion of an attack on the ships in the Texel 'to ruminate further upon,' the decision was reached to follow out the original proposal and to anchor to the N.W. of the Texel well out at sea. There, on 4th May, a fleet of 10 sail was sighted and 8 of them, all merchantmen, were taken; the rest of the fleet, after coming round Scotland and then making the Norwegian coast, was reported to have steered for home on a more easterly course and had probably escaped.

Another Council of War followed. The attack on the Texel was considered impossible, the prospect of further captures of merchantmen seemed remote, and it was decided that the fleet should return to England to fill up with supplies before they got too low. Before this could be put into effect there came a S.W. gale which scattered the fleet to some extent. Sandwich wanted to remain at anchor till the wind came fair for the homeward journey, but was overruled. On 11th May the fleet weighed, and on the 15th it was back at the Gunfleet.

One of Sandwich's ideas had been to wait till the wind served for the Dutch to leave harbour and then to stand in towards their coast as much as possible before turning for home, in the hope that they might be coming out to look for any English ships disabled or separated by

the bad weather. Had this course been followed, it is probable that the first battle of the war would have been fought on the Dutch coast on 14th or 15th May, instead of on the English on 3rd June, for Evertsen with the Zeeland ships put to sea on 12th May, and on the 13th and 14th the whole Dutch fleet left the Texel. Proceeding towards the Dogger Bank the Dutch fleet fell in with a convoy of 9 merchantmen from Hamburg with naval stores and captured them, together with their escort, the hired merchantman Good Hope 34 belonging to Sandwich's squadron.

News of the junction of the Dutch squadrons was received in the English fleet on the 15th, and on the 28th it was known that their entire fleet was at sea and had taken the Hamburg convoy. At once it was decided to move to Sole Bay, and there the fleet anchored on the 31st. About 1 P.M. next day the enemy were in sight to seaward.

On the whole, making due allowance for the fact that one of these enormous fleets would extend over several miles of sea, it is surprisingly easy to reconcile the more detailed accounts of the movements which followed. For instance, the position given by Coventry for the Royal Charles at 8 P.M. on 2nd June, referred to Lowestoft, is within 4 miles of that given by Sandwich for the Prince as referred to Southwold, while their distance apart in the line would naturally be about 3 miles. Again, the position of the Dutch fleet in the morning of 2nd June obtained by combining Coventry's information as to their bearing and distance with Sandwich's bearing and distance from Southwold puts them almost exactly in the latitude given by the Dutch account in the French *Vie de M. de Ruiter* (1677). One thing is certain: the battle of 3rd June began some 40 miles to the S.E. of Lowestoft and not, as some recent writers have said, 14 miles to the N.N.E. To tell the truth, this battle has been very badly described by most modern writers, some of whom have even reversed the courses of the two fleets. Of the detailed accounts the two best are those of Captain Stenzel of the German Navy in his *Seekriegsgeschichte* (Vol. 3, 1910) and of Lieutenant-Commander Warnsinck

of the Dutch Navy, published in the *Marineblad* in 1921, under the title *De laatste tocht van Wassenaer van Obdam*. This last account, based on all the available Dutch authorities and on such English descriptions as had appeared in print, is probably very near the truth ; though it can, I think, be corrected in one point, to which attention will be drawn in due course.

Apparently the English sighted the Dutch to the E.S.E. a little before they were sighted in their turn. Allen in his Journal ¹ gives the credit to Lambert of the Happy Return, and records how this ship and his own, the Plymouth, stood back towards the English fleet signalling as they went. No doubt it was their signals to which Rupert in the Royal James called the fleet's attention, as Sandwich tells us. The English fleet promptly weighed anchor and stood out to sea on the port tack with a wind about E.N.E. and slowly veering. The Dutch had been steering about W. and were now steering N.W. with an ebb-tide setting them northwards, so that the English, when they sighted them, were to the W.S.W. of them. By this time the wind was about E.S.E. and the Dutch, hauling to the wind on the starboard tack, were able to point almost N.E.

Why Obdam did not attack while he held the advantage of the wind will never be known. His orders to fight were definite enough, his personal courage was above suspicion, and yet he allowed two days of holding the weather gage to pass without making any use of it, and only turned to meet the English when he had lost the advantage of position. 'God Almighty took away the skill of our Commander in Chief, or never gave him any,' wrote one of his captains, and that is perhaps the only reasonable explanation.

With the flood tide the English anchored, but the Dutch kept under way ; the wind remained easterly, and next morning the Dutch were S.E. of the English about 15 miles off. In the morning of 2nd June there was very

¹ Bodleian, Tanner MSS. 296. Allen's account of his doings from 31st May to 4th June is printed as Appendix VII.

little wind, but in the afternoon it freshened from the S.E. and S.S.E. The two fleets, keeping for the most part on the starboard tack, worked northwards and eastwards, with the English gradually closing in. 'A fine gale and we raised them much,' says Allen; so that by the evening the Dutch, though still to windward, were only about 9 miles away.

That night a further shift of wind to S.W. put the two fleets about on an equality. In a final effort to keep the wind Obdam got on to the port tack and stood towards the English, who were steering about S.S.E. on the starboard tack. As it proved, the Dutch had lost the wind. Some of their accounts speak vaguely of passing through the English fleet, but it seems fairly certain that, as a whole, the two fleets passed on opposite tacks at long range with the Dutch to leeward. Neither fleet was in good order, though there was more excuse for this in the case of the Dutch, who had just tacked. This is pointed out in Warnsinck's account of the battle, and he also mentions that the Dutch squadronal commanders seem to have made no attempt to maintain their proper stations, but merely vied with each other for the honour of reaching the enemy first. To borrow a quotation which he gives: 'Il n'y avait point d'ordre dedans notre flotte, tout y allait pêle-mêle et tout d'abord dans la dernière confusion.' Still, the English, according to Sandwich, were not in much better state. In his words: 'whereas our order of battle . . . was a line . . . , yet many of our ships did not (even in this first pass) observe it, but luffed up to windward, that we were in ranks 3, 4 or 5 broad.'

This first pass began soon after 3 A.M. No great damage was done on either side, though the Dutch lost one of their flag-officers, Kortenaer, and one English ship, the *Charity*, a prize of the last war, being some way to leeward of the fleet, was cut off by the Dutch and captured.

As soon as he had cleared the Dutch line, Rupert with the English van squadron tacked and stood back to meet them again, while Obdam returned on the starboard tack in his turn. Apparently the Duke of York had intended that his whole fleet should tack simultaneously

while abreast of the Dutch, so as to bring them to close action on the port tack heading towards the English coast. Unfortunately there was some delay in making the required signal and the opportunity was lost. However, it seemed probable that some of the Dutch might now be able to weather Rupert's ships and in that case, if the other English squadrons stood on and tacked in the wake of the van, they also would find themselves to leeward of the enemy. This being so, the Duke tacked with the centre without waiting to form astern of the van and then kept to the wind as much as possible, thus bringing the English centre up to windward of the van and partly overlapping it, so that any Dutch ships which weathered the van would still find themselves to leeward of the centre. They, therefore, bore away enough to pass to leeward of Rupert and the second pass, which took place about 8 A.M., left the English still to windward.

Here, I think, there is an error in Warnsinck's account and the diagram which accompanies it. He says that the foremost Dutch ships 'saw on their port bow Rupert's ships running away from them on a S.S.E. course, on the starboard the English centre and rear steering W.N.W.' That is to say he makes Rupert get back to the starboard tack before the Dutch came up with him for the second pass. I doubt if this was the case. Sandwich says that Rupert tacked as soon as the Dutch had passed him the first time, and then speaks of 'an intermission of shooting near an hour, until Prince Rupert came up with Obdam's ship (who had now tacked upon us again with his head to the south-eastward).' This seems to indicate that Rupert and Obdam met again on opposite tacks, while another English account says that the second pass 'was performed on both sides as the former.' Apparently the English centre was not so closely engaged as before; but in the rear the action was far closer than it had been in the first pass; in fact, Sandwich records that Tromp and Evertsen actually passed between his flagship and the Mountagu, another ship of his squadron. Probably it is to this phase that the Dutch accounts refer when they speak of passing through the English fleet.

Directly after this second pass, probably before it was quite complete, the English tacked again, this time simultaneously. In theory this should have brought Sandwich with the Blue squadron to the head of the line, but by now the divisions of the fleet were somewhat mixed. Sandwich had already been 'within one ship' of the Duke during the second pass, and now, instead of leading the line, he found Lawson's division of the Duke's squadron ahead of him, while the Duke himself was making sail to run ahead of him and overtake the Dutch van. The Dutch had not tacked again and the two fleets thus ran on side by side to the S.E. with the Duke's squadron working up to the head of the English line, Sandwich following and Rupert bringing up the rear.

Thus they 'knocked it out for several hours, sometimes at a great distance and sometimes fair by.' For some time Sandwich was engaged with Obdam's flagship, the Eendracht and with the Oranje a big Indiaman. Eventually the Duke in the Royal Charles came up and engaged the Eendracht, while the Oranje was attacked by the Mary, of the Duke's squadron, and finally taken and burnt by the Royal Katherine and Essex of Sandwich's. Dutch accounts state that the Oranje had previously boarded the Prince, Sandwich's ship, and had had possession of her upper deck for an hour, but there is no mention of this in Sandwich's Journal or in any other English account.

After a hot action between the Eendracht and the Royal Charles, the Dutch flagship suddenly blew up with the loss of the commander-in-chief and all but five of his crew. At the same time (about 3 P.M.), or perhaps a little earlier, Sandwich, seeing a gap in the Dutch fleet, put up his helm, hoisted the signal for his squadron to follow, and broke through the enemy's line. Rupert also bore up at the northern end of their line and the Dutch fell into complete confusion. One reason for this seems to have been the conduct of Kortenaer's flagship, the Hollandia. By a curious arrangement, only possible in a service such as the Dutch, with its several semi-independent Admiralties, Kortenaer, though junior to

Evertsen as long as Obdam was in command, became commander-in-chief on his death. Kortenaer had, as a matter of fact, been mortally wounded early in the fight, and the ship was under the command of a junior officer ; but the Admiral's flag was still flying and her flight, which took place soon after Obdam's death, was taken as a signal for general retreat.

Four ships belonging to four different squadrons ran foul of one another and were burnt together, save for one of them which was set free by the blowing up of one of the others, and was then towed away by her friends. A little later the same thing happened to three others, while two or three ships surrendered to the advancing English without very much resistance. Evertsen on hearing of Kortenaer's death hoisted the flag of the chief commander and retired towards his own harbours of Zeeland ; but Tromp, who knew that Stellingwerf was also dead, either because he considered it impossible for a flag-officer of the province of Holland to serve under a Zeelander, or perhaps because he genuinely believed himself to be the senior surviving officer, hoisted the same flags and steered for the Texel, fighting gallantly to cover the retreat.

Sandwich, by his own account, was leading the pursuit till his main topsail was shot away. This delayed him enough to let the Duke come up and he then, as night was coming on, fell astern to allow the commander-in-chief to lead the fleet. As to what happened during the night Sandwich says nothing either to prove or disprove the accepted story that sail was shortened in the *Royal Charles* as a result of a pretended order from the Duke while he was below. It is, however, worth noticing, that he speaks as if his own and Rupert's squadrons were nearest the enemy at daybreak on 4th June. Both at once did their best to overtake the enemy, and another six or seven ships were overhauled and captured, but the fleet as a whole was unable to bring the main body of the Dutch to action before the nearness of the coast made it necessary to haul to the wind and withdraw northwards.

The battle had been an English victory, though not

the crushing blow that it might have been if the pursuit had been pressed home. Apart from fireships the English had lost one ship, the *Charity* 46, while the Dutch had lost 17, the *Eendracht* 84, *Oranje* 75, *Marseveen* 78, *Koeverden* 60, *Prins Maurits* 50, *Utrecht* 44, *Tergoes* 34, and *Swanenburg* 30 burnt, and the *Hilversum* 60, *Carolus V.* 54, *Nagelboom* 52, *Mars* 46, *Wapen van Zeeland* 44, *Jonge Prins* 36, *Bul* 36, *Delft* 32 and *De Ruiter* 18 captured.¹ In men *Sandwich* gives the English loss as 283 killed and 440 wounded ; to this must be added about another 80 for those killed, wounded or captured in the *Charity*, 90 out of her full crew of 170 being said to have escaped before she was taken. The Dutch loss is not accurately known, but was probably at least 5000 in killed, wounded and prisoners. They had lost three flag-officers, *Obdam*, *Kortenaer* and *Stellingwerf* ; while in the English fleet, *Sansum*, Rear-Admiral of *Rupert's* squadron, had been killed, and *Lawson*, the Duke's Vice-Admiral, had been mortally wounded.

The English fleet now returned to *Sole Bay*. At first it had been proposed to distribute it to various ports in order to expedite the work of refitting. However, on second thoughts, it was decided that ' if our fleet were not seen entire after this battle, though our victory were notorious, yet the cost of it would be aggravated and our loss imagined to be very great, which might be of great importance to the affair between France and Holland, and also among our own people. Wherefore it was agreed to sail into the Downs with the whole fleet.' On arrival at *Sole Bay*, on 8th June, it was ascertained that there was a good supply of stores at *Harwich* and it was soon decided ' to lay aside the thoughts of the Downs and endeavour to repair the fleet here.' A few days later, on the 13th, this third plan was abandoned, because of the difficulty of working in *Sole Bay* in bad weather,² and it was arranged that after all the fleet should be distributed

¹ The *Huis te Swieten* and some other prizes which have been added by some recent writers to the list were really taken by *Sandwich* three months later.

² *Goodson* had found this same difficulty in 1658.

between Harwich and Chatham with the two largest divisions at Hosely Bay and the Nore. Next day this plan was carried out. On the 16th the larger ships reached the Nore, and two days later Sandwich landed at Chatham.

Returning to the fleet on 1st July, he was told by the King that he was to be entrusted with the chief command. For some reason it had been decided that the Duke of York should remain ashore and Rupert had declined a joint command with Sandwich. The fleet was therefore reorganised with Sandwich in the Red squadron, Penn, who had been with the Duke as chief of staff, in the White, and Allen in the Blue.

No sooner had the King and Duke left for Hampton Court than Sandwich heard from Coventry that instructions had been given to Penn to take out such ships as were ready, in the hope of intercepting Ruyter on his way home from America, and that he had actually sailed already. The Instructions had been given to Penn, because it was not thought that the Prince would be ready in time for Sandwich to put to sea so soon. As a matter of fact she was ready, and Sandwich was in some doubt as to the correct procedure to be followed. He was Penn's senior and would naturally expect to take charge on overtaking him, but, on the other hand, the Instructions were, according to Coventry, addressed solely to Penn without any clause providing for their transfer to Sandwich.

Coventry, however, assured him that the Duke fully intended him to take command, if he could get to sea in time, and at Sandwich's request wrote a letter to Penn to confirm this. He also gave Sandwich a summary from memory of the Instructions: a very accurate summary, as can be seen by comparing it with the original.¹ As it proved, there was no need for these precautions; for on 6th July, when Sandwich overtook Penn not far from the Texel, he was able to note in his Journal that Penn 'without hesitation put all things to my dispose before

¹ Printed from the MS. in the Bodleian (Rawlinson, A. 468) in Colenbrander's *Bescheiden uit vreemde Archieven omtrent de groote Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen*, i. 249.

I showed him Mr. Coventry's letter.' It seems unjust to say, as Mr. Harris does in his *Life of Sandwich*, that 'Penn had laid too great stress upon the need for haste. The instructions had been give him for Sandwich to execute, and the question of the supreme command was beyond doubt ; but Penn took the instructions as directed to himself, and started with a badly furnished fleet.' The Instructions were in fact directed to Penn without mention of Sandwich, and they laid down explicitly that, provided he could muster a fleet of 40 sail, he should 'with the least loss of time that possibly may be, sail towards the Texel or Vlie.' Not only this, but he was told later on 'that the neglect of a few hours may lose the opportunity of a very important service.' It is hard to see how Penn could have done anything else but sail at once in face of such Instructions as these.

Sandwich had now a fleet of 69 sail in company, while Allen was shortly expected to join with some 25 more. The main Dutch fleet was not likely to put to sea for some time, and there seemed every prospect that it would be possible to intercept either Ruyter or the homeward-bound Dutch Indiamen, if not both.

There was, however, a new aspect of affairs to be considered. The last sentence of Penn's Instructions read as follows : 'In case you shall meet with the Dutch fleet, or any certain intelligence of them, and that you shall find that they go towards Norway, you shall follow them as far as you shall be able, in consideration of your victuals and the security of His Majesty's ships, and though they should go into any harbour belonging to the King of Denmark in those parts, if you find you are able to take or destroy them, or any considerable part of them within those harbours, you are not to neglect the opportunity of doing it.'

This sentence, or rather the summary of it supplied by Coventry, is the first hint in Sandwich's Journal of the intrigues with Denmark which culminated in the attack on the Dutch merchantmen in Bergen. In point of fact the Journal has very little on the subject. It mentions, on 17th July, that Talbot, the English envoy in Denmark,

had written to the King 'that the King of Denmark was ready to declare his treaties broken with the Hollander, but would be glad to take an advantageous time to say it; which would be when any considerable substance of the Hollanders was lodged in their ports; that then if the English fleet would attempt them by sea, he would assist and go half shares in the prize.' This statement is repeated almost verbally in Sandwich's long account of his command drawn up for him by Pepys, and now in the Bodleian,¹ but there it is noted either that Sandwich received this information on 6th July, or that the King sent it on 6th July—it is impossible to say which is meant.

The whole matter of 'the Bergen affair' is being studied in detail by Commander J. C. M. Warnsinck, with reference to all available sources—Dutch, English, and Danish. I have no wish to anticipate the conclusions which he will shortly publish, even if I were competent to do so. The usually accepted story is that the arrangement was made verbally, and that the King of Denmark was reluctant to commit himself in writing; the result being that the English attack was made before the Governor of Bergen had received his orders to allow it. Certainly there is nothing in Sandwich's Journal to contradict this idea.

On 11th July Sandwich heard that there were some Dutch ships at Flekkerö in the south of Norway. He communicated this news to a Council of War, but they 'resolved it at present not fit to prepare any design for Norway, but to stand to the westward' and wait for Allen's ships on the Dogger Bank. Two days later this decision was confirmed, with the additional expression of opinion that 'nothing of De Ruyter or East Indiamen could be expected from the northward' with the southerly wind then blowing. After another two days, as Allen had not yet joined, it was decided to steer S.W. to meet him. The junction took place on 17th July, some 40 miles to the N.E. of Flamborough Head.

The issue of the original Instructions to Penn had at

¹ Rawlinson MS. A. 468. Printed in full by Colenbrander.

first left Sandwich somewhat in doubt as to his part in the general design. Allen, who was to command the Blue squadron, seems to have been in much the same position. He had left the Medway with some ships in time to see Sandwich 'running down with a pressed sail' in pursuit of Penn; but 'my Lord had gone without leaving orders,' and Allen felt obliged to write to London for instructions and to stay in Sole Bay till they arrived.¹ On 9th July he received orders from Coventry, and next day he started northward. There can be no doubt that the letter sent off by Sandwich on 12th July was intended for Allen, or for anyone who might have taken his place; yet Allen records on the 15th that he read a letter for the commander-in-chief in Sole Bay and returned it to the captain of the Milford, 'but nothing concerning me in it.' However, next day Allen and Sandwich were definitely in touch and the period of misunderstanding was over.

Yet another Council of War now took place, and at this it was decided that there was more chance of catching Ruyter or the Indiamen on the Norwegian coast than in the open waters of the North Sea. The reasons given were, first 'that neither of them would come along the sea until they had a fleet to protect them or the winter come on,' second, 'that if they should put it to the adventure to go home, the sea is wide and fogs and nights, and the flat coast along the shore of Jutland advantageous for them to escape us by.' This being so, Sandwich resolved to steer for the Naze of Norway, organising a squadron as he went, to attack the Dutch ships in Flekkerö, if the report of their presence should prove true.

Dutch writers have considered it as something not far removed from a miracle that Sandwich failed to intercept Ruyter on his way home. According to Brandt, Ruyter himself expressed the opinion that 'it was God alone who led us out of sight of our enemies.' A more recent writer, Dr. P. J. Blok in his *Michiel Adriaanszoon De Ruyter*, has written as follows: 'The two fleets sailed past one another to the north east of Heligoland (August 5th), each

¹ Allen's Journal in Tanner MSS., vol. 296, ff. 87-89.

in ignorance of the other's nearness.' To tell the truth, on this particular date (26th July/5th August) it would have been far more of a miracle if the two fleets had sighted one another, for Ruyter was just north of Heligoland, while Sandwich was off the Norwegian coast in $58^{\circ} 25'$, some 250 miles away.

Certainly nothing short of a miracle could have saved Ruyter's squadron if it had been sighted, since Sandwich had 90 ships under his command, while Ruyter had only 12 besides a few prizes, and those in bad condition. On 6th July, when Sandwich took over the command from Penn at a position some distance from the Texel, Ruyter was still some distance to the westward of the Faroe Islands. On the 13th he made the Norwegian coast a little north of Bergen; on the 17th, when Sandwich decided to steer for the Naze of Norway, Ruyter was a little south of Stavanger; and during the next few days, while Sandwich was making steady but slow progress northwards, Ruyter was contending with contrary winds in the entrance to the Cattegat, some way to the eastward of his enemy's course.¹ With only observations for latitude and occasional mentions of dead-reckoning it would be difficult to plot either fleet's course with any approach to accuracy, but the probability is that they were nearest contact on the 21st or 22nd of July, and that they were then at least 60 miles apart.

The returning East Indiamen were just six days astern of Ruyter, both in passing the Faroe Islands, and in reaching the Norwegian coast. On 29th July ten of them entered the port of Bergen, where a large number of other Dutch merchantmen were already lying; two others separated from the main body went into Trondhjem. Sandwich had missed this prize with something to spare, for he was still about 90 miles to the southward. He had already decided to attack such Dutch ships as he might find in Bergen, and had told off a detachment of five 4th-rates, four 5th-rates, and nine merchantmen, to be

¹ *Journael gehouden op 's Landts-schip de Spiegel . . .* 1664-5. Published at Amsterdam in 1665.

commanded by Sir Thomas Teddiman, the Rear-Admiral of his own squadron. A little later he increased this force by the addition of one 3rd-rate and three 4th-rates, so that it consisted of twenty-two ships besides two fireships and some small craft.

On 30th July, the day after the arrival of the Indiamen at Bergen, Teddiman parted from the fleet for the proposed attack. The bulk of his squadron entered one of the southern channels leading to Bergen about midday on the 31st, but several ships were carried too far to the north and were unable to join him. With the rest he entered the actual harbour of Bergen at 6 P.M. on 1st August. Negotiations with the Danish Governor and General began at once, and went on all night without result. The Danes wanted the attack postponed; perhaps to enable instructions to arrive from Copenhagen, perhaps in the hope that a Danish fleet might arrive. Teddiman naturally could not agree to this, since every minute gave the Dutch a better chance to prepare for resistance. During the process of argument and haggling he got half his ships into line across the harbour, with their broadsides bearing on the Dutch ships and the remainder in a position to engage the Danish fortifications. The Dutch on their side, though handicapped by the fact that a great number of their men were ashore drunk, were able to get four big ships into line and to land some men to help garrison the Danish batteries.

Lists of the English ships told off for the attack, of those actually present, of their disposition and of their losses are printed in Appendix VIII from the manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat.¹ Except that the Martin Galley (though shown) is not named and that the Hound is called the Greyhound, the list of ships engaged is confirmed exactly by a contemporary drawing in the British Museum,² similar to that reproduced from the Journal, but more finished. It will be seen that Teddiman went into action with 14 ships (omitting the Martin

¹ See *Historical MSS. Commission, 4th Report*, p. 230.

² *King's*, cxi. 86.

Galley which was detached on special duty) and 2 fire-ships and that he stationed 8 of these against the Dutch, 4 against the Danish fortifications on the starboard side and 2 on the port side. The Dutch ships most closely engaged seem to have been the East Indiamen Walcheren, flagship of Pieter de Bitter the Dutch Commodore, Slot van Honingen and Jonge Prins, and the Lisbon-trader Catharina.¹

Firing began at 5 A.M. on 2nd August and lasted 3½ hours. At first the English fired on the Dutch ships only, but the Danish forts soon joined in and the English then engaged them also. The wind was blowing right out of the harbour, so that the use of fireships was out of the question. In the end Teddiman had to recognise that the position was too strong for him and to withdraw his damaged ships as far as Jelliford, the northern entrance to Bergen. He had lost 112 killed and 309 wounded, whereas the Dutch loss was only 25 killed and 70 wounded.

While Teddiman was repairing his ships he resumed negotiations with the Danish authorities, but failed to come to any agreement. Instructions from Copenhagen to allow the English attack did, indeed, reach the Governor on 8th August, but he would agree to nothing more than neutrality, and without his help it would have been impossible to make any impression on the Dutch, who now had seven ships in line and a boom across the harbour in front of them. The attempt had failed and there was nothing for it but to withdraw before being caught by the expected Dutch fleet. On 10th August, therefore, Teddiman put to sea and steered for the English coast to join Sandwich.

After despatching Teddiman for Bergen, Sandwich endeavoured to keep the main fleet in a position to cover him from a surprise by the Dutch fleet from the south. The wind, however, freshened so much that he was gradually driven northward, till he was no longer

¹ *Zee-Journael ofte Autentijcq Verhael . . . 13 Juny-6 Octob. 1665* (Amsterdam, 1665), p. 16.

able to fetch Bergen without a shift of wind, and began to doubt whether he would be able to fetch even the Shetlands, if he steered for home. As his supplies, especially of drink, were running short, the position was serious. In his Journal for 3rd August he notes the state of affairs as follows: 'Useless here, not daring to come near a lee shore, which makes us no protection to our friends at Bergen . . . Hopes of fetching Shetland or Scotland yet, but if we drive much more northerly it may be of ill consequence to us.' Next morning, therefore, he held a Council of War, and in consequence of its decisions steered for home, sending a ship to inform Teddiman of what he had done. He was in sight of Shetland on 5th August and anchored in Bressay Sound on the 7th.

Meanwhile in Holland every effort was being made to get the fleet ready for sea again, to enable it to meet and escort the expected Indiamen and other merchantmen. Of the senior officers, Obdam, Kortenaer, and Stellingwerf were dead, while Jan Evertsen, who had been blamed, probably quite unjustly, for the disaster of Lowestoft, had been allowed to resign his post as Lieutenant-Admiral of Zeeland. This left the way open for Tromp to be appointed Lieutenant-Admiral of the Maas in Kortenaer's place and to be made commander-in-chief of the combined squadrons, though at the same time the States General considered it necessary to appoint a committee of three, including de Witt himself, to go to sea with the fleet as assistants and advisers to the commander-in-chief. The ships from the southern harbours reached the Texel towards the end of July, and the fleet of some ninety sail was then organised in three squadrons (in contrast to the former seven) under Tromp, Cornelis Evertsen, who had taken his brother's place as Lieutenant-Admiral of Zeeland, and Tjerck Hiddes, Stellingwerf's successor as Lieutenant-Admiral of Vriesland.

Now came the news that Ruyter had arrived in the Ems on 27th July. No one, save perhaps Tromp, doubted that he was the obvious commander-in-chief,

and he was appointed as such on 1st August, being at the same time made Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland and West Vriesland in Obdam's place. Tromp was expressly named as his successor in case of his death, but that was not enough for him. As long ago as 1653, as a man of twenty-four and a Captain of three years standing, he had applied for the succession to his father in the post now given to Ruyter.¹ He had served under Obdam without complaint, but to be made commander-in-chief and then superseded was more than he could stand. He said openly 'that he did not care to serve under Lieutenant-Admiral de Ruyter and did not propose to go to sea, now that, after he had got the fleet into good order, another man was put over his head.' The breach was patched up and Tromp remained, but there can be no doubt that his feeling of discontent was largely responsible for his independence and even insubordination in later years.

Thanks to the energy of de Witt the Dutch fleet left the Texel on 4th and 5th August. Early on the 8th Ruyter overtook it on its way to the Dogger Bank. He went aboard Tromp's flagship the *Liefde* and held a Council of War, at which it was decided that ships should be taken from each squadron to form a fourth under Ruyter himself, that he should hoist his flag in the *Delflandt*, and that the fleet should steer for the Scottish coast in the hope of intercepting the English on their way south.

Ruyter failed to meet either Teddiman's small detachment or Sandwich weakened by the loss of that detachment, just as Sandwich had failed to meet him a few weeks earlier. In this case it is easier to say exactly what occurred. Sandwich left Shetland on 13th August and steered steadily S. by E. with a fair wind. At noon on the 15th, when he was roughly 50 miles E.S.E. from Aberdeen, one of his scouts reported a strange fleet steering northward some 40 or 45 miles to the N.E. or

¹ Warnsinck, '*Een Nederlandsch Eskader in de Middellandsche Zee, 1651-3.*' Published in the *Marineblad* in 1923.

E.N.E. This agrees well with the Dutch statement that they were then 20 leagues (about 75 miles) east of Buchan Ness and that they sighted an English man-of-war. As to Teddiman's squadron, we know that he reckoned himself some 65 miles E. by S. from Shetland on the 12th and that he was then steering for Flamborough Head, where he joined Sandwich on the 18th. He was evidently a little astern of Sandwich and on a course farther to the eastward; it seems probable that at noon on the 15th he was somewhere roughly north of his main body and west of the Dutch, perhaps about 30 or 40 miles from each of them. Had the Dutch been a few miles nearer the Scottish coast, or either of the English divisions a few miles astern of where it was, a meeting would have been inevitable.

As it was, Sandwich went on southward and anchored in Sole Bay on 21st July, while Ruyter arrived off Bergen two days earlier. The situation was now somewhat different; the two fleets were roughly equal, but Ruyter was now burdened with a large convoy of merchantmen and had to think of their safety as well as endeavouring to bring the English fleet to action. Sandwich, on the other hand, had every reason to wish to make up for his failure to meet Ruyter in July or to capture the Dutch merchantmen in Bergen by a striking success against either the Dutch fleet or its convoy.

On 29th August Ruyter, with some 60 merchantmen in company, started for home. Almost at once his fleet was completely scattered by a severe northerly gale; so much so, that on reaching the Dogger Bank on 1st September he had only 37 men-of-war and 8 merchantmen with him. Two days before this Sandwich had left Sole Bay for the Dogger Bank in the hope of intercepting him. The tail of the northerly gale drove the English fleet somewhat to the south of its course and necessitated a return towards the English coast. Thus on 1st September Sandwich, instead of being well on his way to his station on the Dogger Bank, was back at a point about 40 miles east of Yarmouth. From there he was able to steer N.N.E. for his station, while Ruyter

was standing backwards and forwards on or about the Dogger Bank trying to collect his scattered fleet.

In the morning of 3rd September the English fleet was just south of the Dogger Bank, when a few Dutch ships were sighted to leeward. These were at once pursued, and by evening two Indiamen, the Vergulde Fenix and Slot van Honingen, and 4 men-of-war, the Zevenwolden 56, Westvriesland 50, Groeningen 50, and Hoop 44, had been captured.¹ On the English side the Hector 22 was sunk.²

As far as one can gather, Ruyter with part of the Dutch fleet was at this time also south of the Dogger Bank, but a little to the west of the English. He was informed that the English fleet was to the east of him, and steered all night in that direction in the hope of meeting them. At the same time Sandwich was steering W.S.W., but no encounter took place; the probability seems to be that Ruyter was to the south of Sandwich, both now and on the 14th, when the Dutch were steering S.W. and the English N.E. There was a report of a fleet of 80 Dutch ships a good deal further to the south, but this, if true, cannot have referred to Ruyter's portion of the fleet.

There is little to be made out as to the position of either Sandwich or Ruyter on the 5th. Next day the English were on the Dogger Bank about N.W. from the Texel, while the Dutch were some 50 miles E.S.E. from them and just about to make for home. As had

¹ These appear in the Pepysian list as the Golden Phoenix, Slothany, Seven Oaks, West Vriezland, Black Spread Eagle, and Hope. Sandwich himself calls the Groeningen the Black Eagle in one place. He calls the Zevenwolden the Seven Woods and the Slot van Honingen the Slothony. The explanation of the name given to the Groeningen is to be found in Brandt's *Leven van De Ruiter*, p. 427, in a statement by the Lieutenant of the Adventure, captured in a retaken Dutch prize, that one of the Dutch men-of-war captured had 'a black double eagle on her stern.' This was the Arms of Groningen.

² The Dutch account in *Kort Verhael van de Engelsche Oorlog* gives her 46 guns.

happened in July and August, so again in September, Ruyter and Sandwich had missed one another by a narrow but sufficient margin. That night Ruyter anchored off Terschelling, where he was joined on the 7th by Tromp with 14 more ships.

Sandwich heard on the 8th that the bulk of the enemy had escaped him, but that there were still a number of their ships to the N.E. He decided not to go too far in that direction for fear of the danger of a lee shore, and not to remain off the Dutch coast at all for more than another four days. As it proved, the position he took up was just far enough to the eastward; for at daybreak on the 9th he sighted 15 sail to leeward, and was soon in possession of another four men-of-war, the *Huis te Swieten* 70, *Geldersche Ruiter* 46, *St. Paulus* (of Enkhuisen) 44, and *St. Paulus* (of Zeeland) 40, besides a number of merchantmen. Having achieved this much he called a Council of War and decided to steer for home.

The wind was south-westerly and the English fleet was on the port tack when they sighted some 30 sail of the enemy to windward on the other tack. English accounts state that this force was led by Banckert, Vice-Admiral of Evertsen's squadron, but in reality it was Van Nes, Vice-Admiral of Ruyter's own division. As a whole, the Dutch were able to weather the English fleet with something to spare, though a few of the leading English ships were near enough to open fire. Harman, Rear-Admiral of the Blue Squadron, and Berkeley and Jordan, Vice- and Rear-Admirals of the White, tacked to the southward in pursuit; but Sandwich considered it unsafe to follow so close to the Dutch coast and stood on westward signalling to recall them. For this he was afterwards blamed, but at the time his caution was approved, at any rate by the King, who wrote on 16th September: 'You did very well not to attempt Banker by tacking so near their coast, the foul weather coming upon you, you might have endangered the fleet.'¹

On 11th September Sandwich anchored off Sole Bay,

¹ Sandwich MSS., 'Letters from Ministers, etc.,' vol. i. f. 46.

and on the 13th he was at the Nore with all his larger ships and with the Dutch prizes. At this point his Journal ends with the words 'Deo Gratias.' Of the last two months of his command, of the distribution of goods from the East Indiamen to his flag-officers and himself, and of the subsequent operations of the Dutch fleet it contains no record. The second volume does not begin till March 1665/6, by which time Sandwich was no longer employed afloat.

On the first of these subjects it would be difficult to add much to what has already been written, particularly by Mr. Harris in his *Life of Edward Mountagu, First Earl of Sandwich*. There can be no doubt that Sandwich did authorise the distribution of goods from the two East Indiamen to his flag-officers, and did take a share for himself without waiting to secure the permission of anyone in a position to give it—if, indeed, anyone could be in such a position. Still, he seems to have acted foolishly rather than dishonestly, since he made no attempt whatever to conceal what he had done. The King at least seems to have seen nothing blameworthy in the act. A letter from Carteret of 28th September says plainly enough: 'I have acquainted the King and the Duke with the manner and the reasons which have induced your Lordship to the distribution you have made of some of the prize goods amongst the flag officers, they both approve exceedingly well what your Lordship hath done therein.'¹ True a letter of 10th October from Pepys says that Brouncker had told him 'that the King and Duke do disown their order and allowance in the case'²; but this can hardly have been true, since the King wrote on 17th October giving his full approval and specifying the officers to whom shares were to go.³ Sandwich himself says that the distribution was intended as a reward for services throughout the campaign and as a sort of 'entertainment allowance' rather than as a sharing of

¹ Sandwich MSS., 'Letters from Ministers, etc.', vol. i. f. 51.

² *Ibid.*, f. 59.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1665-6, p. 17, and Sandwich MSS., *ibid.*, f. 67.

loot, and there is one fact that helps to prove this. Allen had a share and he had been in no way concerned in the capture, for he was ashore sick from 22nd August until after the fleet was back in the Thames.¹

It seems desirable to say a few words as to the final activities of Ruyter and the Dutch fleet for this year ; not because anything of great importance was accomplished, but because it seems needed to round off the account of the campaign, and because it is usually passed over in silence or very nearly so by English writers.

On 9th September Ruyter, then off the Texel and the Vlie, heard that the English Fleet was somewhere to the N.W. With about 50 ships he got under way and steered N.N.W. all night, but met no enemy. Next day he heard that Van Nes had been in action with the English a little to the east of where he then was, and that the English had last been seen steering westward. He returned to the Texel, picked up Van Nes, and again sailed N.W. in the hope of meeting Sandwich. The hope was vain, for Sandwich by now (11th September) was at Sole Bay. Ruyter then sailed for Goree at the mouth of the Maas, where he arrived on 14th September.

After suffering a good deal of damage in a gale on the 19th the Dutch fleet returned to the Texel. On 1st October it put to sea again, some 90 ships strong, steering for the English coast. The English fleet was by now paralysed by the state of disorganisation caused in England by the plague, and save for a few small detachments which fled at Ruyter's approach, there was no enemy to meet. The Dutch were, however, in none too good a condition and could do very little to take advantage of their opportunities. They were off the Suffolk coast on 5th October, and arrived at the mouth of the Thames on the 7th. Heavy weather kept them there till the 13th, when they left for the Downs in the hope of surprising a few small English ships which were there. The attempt failed, because head winds prevented them from closing both entrances at once, and the English were

¹ His Journal in Tanner MSS., vol. 296, f. 91.

thus able to get away. The Dutch were back at the mouth of the Thames on 15th October, lay there for a week in divisions disposed between the North Foreland and Sole Bay, and then on 22nd October, with sickness increasing every day, decided to go home for the winter. A small squadron was sent to cruise on the Dogger Bank for another three weeks, but the rest of the fleet started for home at once. Next day (23rd October) its various squadrons entered their home ports for the winter.

The editor's thanks are due in the first place to the present Earl of Sandwich for allowing this Journal and the documents in the Appendix to be published. They are also due to the Marquess of Bath for supplying transcripts of the papers with regard to the action at Bergen, which appear in the Appendix. Finally they are due to the Town Clerk of Southampton, Sir Richard Linthorne, for taking charge of the volume during its transcription and for allowing the editor to work at it among the town archives in the Audit House.

SECTION I
COPENHAGEN, 1659

SECTION I

Copenhagen—1659

1658/9

March 12th. Saturday, March the 12th, 1658, the General came out of London and arrived on board the Naseby in the evening in the Hope.

17th. Thursday 17th about 2 of the clock in the afternoon set sail from the Hope bound for Sole Bay.

20th. Sunday. Anchored in Sole Bay.

23rd. Wednesday. Vice Admiral Goodson with about 28 sail of ships arrived with the General in Sole Bay.

1659

27th. Sunday. Set sail from Sole Bay bound for the Sound.

April 1st. Friday. Made the Naze¹ of Norway.

2nd. Saturday. Made Boen Bergen² upon the Jutland coast.

4th. Monday. Made the point of the Skaw³ and were up with it by noon.

¹ Lindesnaes, the southernmost point of Norway.

² Bovbjerg, called in 17th-century maps Bovenberg or Bowensbergh. On the west coast in about 56° 30' N.

³ Skagen, the northernmost point of Jutland.

6th. Wednesday. About four of the clock in the afternoon anchored in Elsinore Road.

12th. Tuesday. The Fagons sailed for England with Mr Taylor, who carried a packet for my Lord Thurloe.¹

The following letter to the commander in chief of the Dutch fleet daily expected from Holland² was left by the General with the commander of the Bradford frigate, who was ordered to ride at the Skaw until the aforesaid fleet should arrive, and upon the first descrying of them to deliver that letter. The Nantwich frigate was left by the General about the Anholt reef³ with a copy of the same letter and like orders as the Bradford.⁴

To the Right Honourable the Admiral or Commander in Chief of any of the fleets of war belonging to the Lords the States General of the United Provinces.

(Captain Bowen of the Bradford ordered to remain with this letter at the Skaw and upon the arrival of the Dutch fleet to deliver it to their Admiral)

Sir,—The present condition of affairs in the Eastern parts, particularly of the unhappy war

¹ A long letter from Mountagu to Thurloe, dated April 11th, is printed in Thurloe (vol. viii. pp. 651–3).

² This fleet, under De Ruyter, did not leave the Texel till 10th May (O.S.).

³ MS. Anout Riffe. Anholt Island is in the middle of the Cattegat, about halfway between the Skaw and the Sound.

⁴ The Journal up to this point is in the handwriting of Will Howe. The following letters have been copied by John Creed. For the identification of the two writings I have followed pencil notes in the MS. These, I believe, are due to Mr. F. R. Harris, author of *The Life of Edward Mountagu, First Earl of Sandwich*.

fallen out between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark to the prejudice and distraction of the affairs of the greatest part of Europe, being taken into due consideration by his most Serene Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, etc. Out of his pious and amicable desires of reconciling the said two Kings, and also for the prevention of the manifold evils and inconveniences which thereupon may further happen not only to themselves but to their allies and neighbouring states; He hath resolved to use his best endeavours for composing the said war; and in order thereunto hath sent me with his fleet towards the Sound, commanding as well myself as his public Minister now residing in the Court of Sweden to endeavour a Peace between the said two Crowns of Sweden and Denmark; and hath ordered the Treaty of Roeskilde (with such alterations as are necessary) to be propounded as the terms thereof; and hath given me express command not to take either side, or give assistance to either, if it be possible to make the peace without it. I hope you are come with the same mind and intentions, and that your superiors have given you instructions conform¹ thereunto and that you will accordingly declare yourself and join with me for the making of this peace on the terms aforesaid, in such a way as may be most likely to effect it and prevent all jealousy between England and the United Provinces whilst these endeavours are on foot; In order whereunto I desire that you would agree and signify unto me, that you will not give any assistance to either side by men, ships or otherwise, nor endeavour to go with your fleet into Copenhagen or into the Sound or Baltic Sea, lest

¹ *Sic* in MS.

further hostility fall out between the Swede and you ; But remain with your fleet without the Sound and Belt until it can be seen whether by our joint endeavours a Peace may be concluded between them, or until some other certain way of management of this affair may be agreed upon between us, conducive to the ends aforesaid. And I do hereby engage unto you (you agreeing to the desires expressed in this letter) that I will give no assistance to either side until the issue of the Treaty be seen as aforesaid : And thus desiring your answer hereunto as soon as conveniently may be ; I remain Your Humble Servant E. M.

On board the Naseby, 4 April, 1659.

*To Sir Philip Meadows, his Highness's Envoy
Extraordinary to the King of Sweden.*

(Sent by the Centurion)

Sir,—Being come thus far with the fleet and sailing for the Sound with the next opportunity of wind, if God please ; I thought it requisite to advise you thereof ; And to desire that you would acquaint his Majesty of Sweden therewith, and to entreat of him, that he would be pleased to agree that the manner of our mutual salutations as we pass by his castles may be with as little expence of powder as is possible ; I suppose it may be well reserved for a more profitable occasion ; especially when he cannot doubt of all imaginable respect from us. I conceive it sufficient that the flagship of every squadron as they pass by salute the castle and receive their civility again ; for any other ceremony, I suppose it will not be expected, neither do I hold it fitting to use any. I pray let me hear from you by this

frigate before I come in, and when I am come to an anchor let me have your company on board, and Mr Isaac Ewer's,¹ if he be with you, as soon as conveniently you may. And thus I forbear your further trouble at present. Remaining Your humble servant E. M.

On board the Naseby at the Scaw, 4 April, 1659.

*For his most Serene Majesty the King of Sweden.
(The same (mutatis mutandis) to the King of Denmark.²)*

Most Serene and most potent Prince,—The present unhappy dissension and war between your most serene Majesty and the King of Denmark, with the evils and inconveniences proceeding or depending thereupon, not only to yourselves and people, but also to your Allies and Neighbours, being seriously pondered by his most serene Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland; he hath found it best to use his utmost persuasion and endeavours towards both your Majesties for the composing of the same; And hath commanded me to sail into these parts with his fleet, and to demean myself as a common friend to you both, contributing what in me lies to remove those difficulties that may be in the way of a peace and secure agreement between you: The which in part (through God's favour) I have performed by my present arrival here: And now according to my duty I communicate unto your most serene Majesty the commands of my Master,

¹ Isaac Ewer, nephew of the regicide of the same name, was recommended to the Protector by Thurloe in 1656 and went to Denmark with Meadows in 1657.

² This letter is printed in Thurloe (vol. vii. p. 644).

earnestly entreating your Majesty would be pleased to harken to his desires which as a true friend he makes unto you ; He judging it to be your own interest as well as that of your neighbours and Allies that a speedy end be put to this war, the continuance whereof cannot but be dangerous to those afore mentioned, as also to the whole Protestant interest in Europe. And I take leave to give your Majesty assurance that for my own part, as I account it a happiness to be employed in so acceptable a service, so nothing shall be wanting from me that may contribute towards the making of a happy composition of the war, and testifying the Truth of my being

Your Majesty's most humble servant E. M.

On board the Naseby in the Sound, 7th April, 1659.

*For his Excellency the Lord Obdam, Admiral of the fleet of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces.*¹

My Lord,—His most serene Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland having with great compassion as well as prudence considered the unhappy condition of the two Crowns of Sweden and Denmark by reason of the present war they are involved in, as also the inconveniences depending thereon to neighbouring States and friends, hath resolved to use his utmost endeavours for reconciling the said two Crowns,

¹ This Dutch fleet under Obdam had forced the Swedish blockade of Copenhagen at the end of October 1658. It was now lying off Copenhagen. Obdam's Journal does not mention the receipt of this letter, but mentions that a ketch with an English agent arrived on April 19th (N.S.) and informed him that there were 36 English men-of-war and some fireships in the Sound. This letter is printed in Thurloe (vol. vii. p. 644).

and commanded me to sail with his fleet into these parts, and to contribute what in me lies for promoting of the peace between them, and to demean myself as a common friend to them both, if it be possible to obtain the aforesaid most desirable end. And hoping that the Lords the States General of the United Provinces will concur in the promoting so good a work, hath commanded me also to hold a good and friendly correspondence with your Lordship hereabout: In pursuance whereof being arrived in this place I have communicated to both their Majesties my Master's commands as above-said, desiring that they would harken to that his so friendly and profitable advice, and that nothing shall be wanting in me that may contribute thereunto: And now I give your Lordship this account desiring your friendship, correspondence and assistance in promoting the peace aforesaid, and that you will not suffer the fleet or fleets under your command to act in hostility against, or give further assistance unto, either side, or act in such a way as may occasion jealousy between England and the United Provinces whilst these endeavours are on foot: And I hope you have received instructions from the Lords your superiors conform hereunto: Your concurrence herein will much facilitate this good undertaking and give me further occasions of manifesting myself,

My Lord, your Excellency's most humble servant

E. M.

On board the *Naseby* in the Sound, 7th April, 1659.

For Vice Admiral William Goodson.

Sir,—Herewith is delivered unto you a letter from me to the Dutch Admiral or Commander in

chief, in pursuance of my instructions ; which I desire you to cause to be delivered unto him, in case he endeavour to come into the Sound, and if upon receipt of the said letter he forbear pressing on through the Sound, or send me any answer, you are to give me an account thereof ; and during the time of his stay as aforesaid demean yourself with all peaceableness and civility unto him and his fleet ; But if after the delivery of the said letter, he shall make sail and endeavour to pass the Sound for the relief of Copenhagen or assistance of the King of Denmark, you are then to use such further fair means as shall occur to you to be useful, to persuade him not to enter ; and if he yet persist to sail on as aforesaid, you shall then make signal to your squadron to engage, and accordingly yourself and the rest of the ships do your best by way of assistance to the Swede, and fight with, sink, take or destroy such of them as shall proceed to pass through as aforesaid, the which myself and the rest of the ships of the fleet shall (by God's permission and assistance) second and stand by you in.

So I remain

Your assured loving friend E. M.

On board the Naseby in the Sound, April 9th-59.

The letter to the Dutch Admiral was the same as was left at the Skaw and Anholt.¹

To his most serene Majesty the King of Denmark.

Most serene and most potent Prince,—I return my most humble thanks for the favourable expression in your Majesty's letter concerning me,

¹ This note is in Mountagu's own writing. The next two letters are copied by Howe.

which opinion that I may retain with you, I have held it necessary speedily to second my former address by this present wherein I shall plainly and fully open unto your Majesty the terms I stand in here, that so you may consult affairs and by your accepting my Master's kind mediation better your own and your people's condition and divert other evil consequences that depend upon a vigorous prosecution of the war; As I have formerly acquainted your Majesty by my Master's command, I am arrived here with his fleet and am required (as also Sir Ph. Meadows his Highness' Envoy extraordinary) to endeavour a Peace between your most serene Majesty and the King of Sweden, and that upon the terms of the late treaty concluded between your Majesties at Roeskilde: this being the likeliest and speediest way to agree your Majesties. The which reconciliation is so necessary to Christendom, and also my Master hath accounted himself engaged to propound the Treaty of Roeskilde in regard he was one of the mediators thereof. And hath obliged me by my Instructions to oppose that party which shall refuse a reasonable Peace upon the grounds thereof.

Your Majesty may be pleased also to consider the present crisis of affairs, and that it permits not any length of time for much debate but requires as speedy a conclusion, as possibly may be, lest emergent¹ occasions bring that prejudice to your affairs, which I am commanded, and have from mine own inclinations a hearty desire, as much as in me lies to avoid. I shall now earnestly hope for such resolutions and answer from your Majesty as may attain the peace desired; as concerning the Allies of your Majesty

¹ *Sic* in MS.

Sir Philip Meadows hath received such Instructions from his Highness, as will I doubt not be to your Majesty's good satisfaction. I remain your Majesty's most humble servant E. M.

April the 11th 1659.

To Sir Philip Meadows at the Castle of Elsinore.

Sir,—I perceive that divers English merchant ships are come here and more may come daily and some of them are wholly manned with Dutchmen and are Dutch vessels, and pretend to be bound for Danzig. It may possibly happen that if they proceed through the Sound, they may voluntarily or perforce go into Copenhagen ; now in such case lest the King of Sweden should blame this fleet, I thought it good to give you this advice that you may let his Majesty know, that as I have expressed myself to walk as a friend to both of the Crowns, so that I cannot make it my work to hinder any few or small vessels going into Copenhagen, but yet as a friend I do advise all our English not to go thither, to the offence of his Majesty of Sweden, who besieges the place. For any farther care about it I give this timely account to exonerate myself in future events. I am your humble servant E. M. ¹

For the King of Sweden.

Most serene and most potent Prince,—Since the discharge of my duty in desiring your most serene Majesty's consent to a Treaty of Peace with the King of Denmark, I understand by Sir Philip Meadows that he hath acquainted

¹ This letter is not dated. The next letter is in Creed's writing.

your Majesty with the terms which my Master friendly adviseth your Majesty to agree unto (that is to say, the Treaty of Roeskilde, with some accommodation to the present condition of affairs between you). And that your Majesty is not pleased yet to signify your resolution thereabouts. It hath been not a little trouble to me (considering the diligence used to bring myself and this fleet into the posture I now stand in) to be left divers days in ambiguity concerning your Majesty's resolutions in a most principal point of my Instructions ; and the truth is, it is the point my Master lays weight upon, and according to the resolution whereof I am to demean myself. At your Majesty's own desire my Master became in some sort the guarantee of that Treaty, and in that respect, as also because it is the speediest and likeliest way to reconcile your Majesty with the King of Denmark, he doth earnestly desire your Majesty to agree thereunto ; and hath further commanded me as from himself [in the most true and sincere way of friendship] ¹ to represent unto your Majesty that he apprehends the present war in Denmark very dangerous both to yourself and also to your Allies, in regard that the combinations against your Majesty are so considerable and have involved the most potent States of Europe against you both by land and sea ; so that whosoever comes to your assistance must look to engage himself in a war with Holland and those other states which are allies to the King of Denmark, which the present condition of the State of England is no way fit for, nor can admit of : Besides that the assembly of all the Estates in Parliament, sitting when we came from thence, are in no way satisfied to

¹ These words have been added in the margin.

such an engagement of the Nation. These most especially make my Master his Highness earnest in desiring your Majesty to content yourself with making a Peace according to the terms above-mentioned ; without which mind of yours he cannot be satisfied to give you any assistance, and hath commanded and instructed me conformable thereunto ; who (having a passionate inclination for the service of your Majesty's most renowned person and affairs) it would be an excessive grief to have the way of contributing thereunto precluded me, and the happy end, which I hoped would have been acceptable to most, of the making a good peace between your Majesties frustrated and lost.

Thus I have fully and faithfully stated the whole case unto your Majesty ; and hope your Majesty will so consider of the same, as to favour me with your speedy and plain resolution thereupon, which I heartily wish may be such as may be to the satisfaction of my Master and rejoicing of your Majesty's most humble servant E. M.

On board the *Naseby* in the Sound, 15 April, 1659.

*April 15th.*¹ This fifteenth day of April in the evening Sir Philip Meadows came on board, and no return being then come from Mr Ewers from Copenhagen (who went thither the 12th instant), the General advised him to send an express to Copenhagen the next morning to expedite and quicken an answer from thence. The King of Sweden also having given no positive answer concerning his willingness to the treaty of Roeskilde, he advised Sir Philip Meadows to give in a paper in writing to the King of Sweden, demanding a speedy and positive answer.

¹ Howe's writing begins again here.

16th. Saturday the 16th instant Monsieur Coyet¹ came on board of the General from his Majesty discoursing matters in relation to the General's letter of the 15th instant.

17th. Sunday 17th instant April in the morning Sir P. Meadows came on board the General, having received letters from Mr Ewers from Copenhagen, with a letter from the Dutch Admiral Obdam to the General,² but no answer from the King of Denmark.

In the afternoon Sir Philip Meadows sent the General word that the King of Sweden's journey to Funen³ the next day was certainly resolved upon, whereupon the General wrote unto him desiring him to press the King before his going for a clear answer about the Treaty of Roeskilde, which if he could not obtain he should let the King know that the General must be forced to make such construction of his past reservedness as he may practise his Instructions by, which he wished might not be to the prejudice of his affairs.

18th. Monday April the 18th. His Majesty notwithstanding his purpose deferred his journey and Sir Philip Meadows had conference with him, whereof he gave an account to the General by a letter.

19th. Tuesday April the 19th. The General weighed anchor and sailed through the Sound towards the Coll.⁴ Whilst he was under sail the

¹ Peter Julius Coyet became Swedish Secretary of State in 1657. He was one of the Swedish negociators of the Treaty of Roeskilde.

² Obdam's Journal does not mention this letter.

³ Funen, or Fyen, is an island between the Great Belt and Little Belt.

⁴ Kullen, the promontory on the Swedish coast just N. of the Sound.

King of Sweden sent the Count Brahe¹ and Monsieur Post to compliment him upon his Majesty's going towards Funen ; when they returned the General desired Mr Mountagu to go along with them and to present his service to the King and acquaint him with his sailing, in the manner following ; that having enquired of Sir Philip Meadows whether he had received his Majesty's answer, in relation to the advice of his Highness, that his Majesty would make a Peace with the King of Denmark, upon the terms of the late Treaty of Roeskilde, with such alterations as shall be found necessary, and finding that hitherto he hath not obtained the same, for which I am heartily sorry, and the season urging hard upon me, concerning the execution of part of my Instructions, I have found it necessary to put myself and the fleet in a condition more fitting to answer the same.

This afternoon the King began his journey towards Funen. Sir Philip Meadows also sent the General the answer of the King to his paper.

20th. Wednesday the 20th of April. The General received from Sir Philip Meadows the answers of the King of Denmark from Copenhagen, both to his own and Sir Philip Meadows's letters. This afternoon also the Hind ketch came in bringing a packet from England.

21st. Thursday, Ap. 27th. About noon the Basing frigate with Mr Holliday and a packet to my Lord Thurloe parted from the fleet, she being bound for England.

Towards evening there came on board two letters from Sir Philip Meadows to the General and in one of them an answer of the King of Sweden's Commissioners, importing his Majesty's

¹ Pehr Abrahamsson Brahe was made commander-in-chief of the Swedish forces at home in 1657.

consent to treat upon the terms of the Roeskilde treaty.

22nd. Friday the 22d of April. The General wrote the three following letters to Sir Philip Meadows, to the King of Denmark and to the Dutch Admiral Obdam, and about noon sent them by a smack to Elsinore to Sir Philip Meadows.

*For Sir Philip Meadows.*¹

Sir,—I have perused the paper of his Majesty's Commissioners and I think it is a fair introduction to the using of urgent and pressing solicitations to the King of Denmark, to whom my opinion is that you should in person with all imaginable haste repair, for the transacting hereof speedily is of consequence not to be expressed, the Dutch fleet being every moment expected here and the case of my deportment here somewhat wavering again the former way ; and when you are there in person you can in few hours put home and explain business which must cost many days time if you remain at Copenhagen in sending to and again. And truly the business is of that consequence to England that no pains of yours, or cost for or pains of other instruments can be too much for it.

I have thought it requisite for me to accompany your endeavours with letters from me to the King of Denmark and to the Dutch Admiral, which I entreat you to cause to be delivered, and have sent them open that you may peruse them and seal them up yourself.

Before you go I think you had best acquaint the King's Commissioners therewith, viz. with your journey, because you know, that if the King of Denmark consent to treat, your first step is the

¹ This letter is in Mountagu's own writing.

cessation appointed in my instructions, therefore I think it were necessary to know, before that going, of the King of Sweden's Commissioners, whether they approve and consent to such a cessation or not ; you are to endeavour all that is possible to effect it, but I conceive if it do not like them there is no further step to be taken upon that point (this is my sudden opinion). Therefore you should know as much of them as you can concerning it, and it will save much time ; you will, I suppose also, know their mind as to the number of Commissioners on their side, and place that they like best or will admit of for the treaty, and then you may at once resolve much business with the King of Denmark.

As for the proceeding forthwith upon the Treaty of Assistance, it is in no sort (I think) advisable, for that is not the proper end of our instructions but the result of the fruitlessness of all labours, persuasions, and endeavour, that can possibly be used to obtain the peace. Therefore they must be carefully attempted first to the uttermost. And then also the Treaty of Assistance is not hastily to be rushed into (I could wish we might hear again from England first) because you hear (I presume) of the great probability of the peace between France and Spain, which if, England cannot well undertake such a league, neither indeed doth the present condition of England within itself permit a rash conjunction of that kind. Our principal design is to make the peace, and in order thereunto you may perceive in my letters to the King of Denmark and the Dutch Admiral that I have communicated to them the King of Sweden's compliance, because I conceived it might conduce to incline them, and the King of Denmark's letter to me (a copy whereof I send

you) hath an expression in it inviting me to it. Nor do I care though it displease the King of Sweden; having given his word he cannot go back from it, upon that occasion. Yet to avoid any jangling about that, until it have had its full operation upon the King of Denmark, I desire that you would by all means conceal it from the Swedes before your departure for Copenhagen.

In your application to the King of Denmark, I hope you will steer the same course that by these papers you see I have done. I beseech you be exceedingly sensible of the important haste, lest inconvenient difference fall out between us and the Dutch before the business be ripe for it. And upon this occasion I pray you to put on with a vigour and expedition more than the usual dull, formal gravities practised upon these occasions have permitted. The dull way may gratify those that design delay and prejudice to us, but nothing so much as life and quickness can accomplish our end and prevent our difficulties.

I herewith also send you a copy of that Treaty made in Holland which his Highness disowns. It is very necessary for me to have a copy of both the King of Sweden's answers. I pray let them be writ for me.

Thus I remain

Your humble servant E. M.

April 22nd 1659, Naseby, beyond the Lapp without the Sound.

Sir, upon these occasions possibly my name may be used in writings and to prevent inconveniences I desire, in such cases, that you would inform these foreign ministers we deal with, to place it in such order as it ought to be, different from what I find in the beginning of the Commissioners' answer unto you.

*To his most serene Majesty the King of Denmark.*¹

Most serene and most potent Prince,—I have received the letter of the 18th of April, that your most serene Majesty hath been pleased to honour me withall, and being very desirous to give your Majesty all the satisfaction and information possible for me that may further the peace between your Majesty and the King of Sweden, I take the liberty to give your Majesty this further trouble to let you know that since my arrival in these parts I have (according to my Master's urgent commands upon me) omitted no opportunity of time to persuade his Majesty of Sweden to be willing to that peace and reconciliation which I have been told to propound to your Majesty also ; and that not without much difficulty being solicited thereabout as by myself so also by Sir Philip Meadows (his Highness' Minister in that Court), his Majesty of Sweden hath expressed himself willing to treat upon the terms of the Roeskilde Treaty (with such alterations as shall be necessary) it now remains wholly with your Majesty to give motion to these good beginnings by declaring yourself to be willing also to accept of the Treaty and to appoint Commissioners speedily for the management and perfecting thereof. Which with all the earnestness fit for me to use in this kind I beg your Majesty to do. I have no design of drawing your Majesty into inconveniences nor watch to get advantages to your prejudice, but on the contrary heartily desire to be an instrument of your good and prosperity, and to that end only take leave to remind your Majesty that the affection and true friendship of my Master to you hath

¹ Letter copied by Howe with Mountagu's autograph corrections.

caused him to use his endeavours in this kind, and that the obtaining the peace is the scope of his mediation and his forces coming into these parts, that if it be possible to accomplish it your Majesty should receive no damage from his arms, but if (which God forbid) that the hindrance of effecting the desired peace should be on your Majesty's part, they must oppose you, and the determination of this case will not admit of any delay; much time hath been consumed already and the present conjuncture of affairs will not allow more than is absolutely necessary for conference and the due transaction thereof. I do not by way of boldness urge these things, but out of the highest respect and civility, which I know not better how to express than by a candid opening to your Majesty the true and plain condition of the present affair. Your Majesty is pleased indeed with much nobleness to express your resentment of the kindness of your allies to you when you were distressed and your obligations to communicate with them in these affairs; possibly you may have opportunity to advise together and I hope if the succour you have had hath been afforded for your Majesty's good interest, that when it shall appear your danger and inconveniences are imminent none of your allies will hold you to conditions that may be so much to your prejudice. Besides that your allies also may not be without a fitting satisfaction, his Highness my Master hath resolved that this peace being once concluded between your two Crowns he will endeavour a reconciliation between the King of Sweden and your allies. Yea, whilst this Peace is transacting he will do the same, whereof Sir Philip Meadows will give your Majesty a more perfect account, but he conceives it of absolute necessity most principally

to agree your Majesty and the King of Sweden, without which it is impossible to imagine that any peace at all can in any way be concluded upon.

I cannot deal more faithfully with your Majesty unless I should yet urge the preciousness of time upon this occasion, and my hope to receive your pleasure herein in less time than the last (Your Majesty hath the judgment of all before you). If I do not, I truly represent unto you, that occasions may in the mean time happen whereby in my poor opinion your affairs may very much suffer. Your Majesty's confidence is not abused when you honour me with the estimation of being, Most serene Prince, Your Majesty's most humble servant. E. M.

April 22nd 1659, aboard the Naseby without the Sound near the Lapp.¹

For his Excellency the Lord Obdam etc.

My Lord,—Having (together with his Highness' minister in this court) endeavoured with much industry to dispose his Majesty of Sweden to treat upon the terms propounded by Sir Philip Meadows to his Majesty of Denmark ; and having at length so far prevailed with him : The opportunity now offering itself unto you of cooperating with me towards the procuring the like disposition in his Majesty of Denmark, which if effected, I shall have a very great hope that these parts will soon enjoy a perfect tranquility.

The amicable and Christian resolution of your Excellency expressed in your letter to endeavour a reconciliation hath obliged me to signify the same to you.

That your good endeavours may be blessed

¹ A shoal off the Danish coast, N.W. of the Sound. This line is autograph. The next letter is in Creed's writing.

with an effect comfortable to these distressed countries and establishing the friendship and good understanding between our Masters shall be the hearty prayer to God of, My Lord, Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant E.M.

On board the Naseby without the Sound near the Lapp,
April 22, 1659.

23rd.¹ Saturday about four of the clock in the afternoon Mr Smith was sent by the General to England with a packet in the Hind ketch.

27th. Wednesday about 9 of the clock at night the General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows, in which was enclosed one from the King of Denmark and another from the Dutch Admiral from Copenhagen, to the General, and also a letter from Mr Ewers from Copenhagen to Sir Philip Meadows.

29th. Friday the General and Flag Officers went ashore to speak with Sir Philip Meadows about the Treaty of Assistance, which they did. The Queen of Sweden towards evening passed by them in her coach.

May 2nd. Monday the General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows with one enclosed from the King of Sweden to Sir Ph. M. out of Laaland. The same afternoon a gentleman came from Kronborg² and brought the General a letter from his Majesty to him from Laaland.³

3rd. Tuesday the General and Flag Officers went on shore to confer with Sir Philip Meadows (about the Treaty of Assistance) who met them

¹ Howe's writing from here to May 3rd.

² MS. Croningburgh, elsewhere Cronenburg, etc. Kronborg is the fortress just N. of Elsinore.

³ The largest of the southern islands of Denmark, on the eastern side of the southern entrance to the Great Belt.

about 7 of the clock in the evening at the mill two miles to the northward of Kronborg Castle.

Naseby, at an anchor without the Lapp, towards the Coll.
4^o May 1659.¹

This day about 9 of the clock in the morning the General summoned a Council of War of the whole fleet and there were present these following, vizt. The General, Vice Admiral Goodson, Rear Admiral Stayner, Capt. Cuttance, Capt. Clark, Capt. Blag, Capt. Smith, Capt. Witheridge, Capt. Earning, Capt. Harman, Capt. Blake, Capt. Whitehorne, Capt. Tiddiman, Capt. Nixon, Capt. Wager, Capt. Curtis, Capt. Ames, Capt. Pool, Capt. Parkes, Capt. Kirby, Capt. Symons, Capt. Allen, Capt. Gilpin, Capt. Sansum, Capt. Plumley, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Fleet, Capt. Holland.

The General communicated the present condition of affairs in these parts relating to his Instructions, and produced the said instructions unto them, desiring their advice what was fittest on the whole matter for the fleet to do.

The said Council of War did thereupon vote (nemine contradicente) that the fleet should with the next opportunity of wind and weather sail for the road before Copenhagen, conceiving it might be advantageous for the promoting of the peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark.

They voted likewise unanimously that the fleet lying in the road before Copenhagen may by the General's instructions desire any ships of what nation or condition soever to forbear entering into the said road or harbour of Copenhagen during the endeavours for a peace, and that in case they should notwithstanding press to enter therein,

¹ Minutes in Creed's writing.

that by the General's instructions it was warrantable for the fleet to oppose and fight them.

These Captains, vizt. Capt. Young, Capt. Archer, Capt. Robinson, Capt. Sparling, Capt. Grimsditch, Capt. Lambert, Capt. Ketcher and Capt. Hayward, having failed (because of the strength of the current and wind against them) to get on board the Naseby till the Council of War was ended, the same things were proposed unto them, to which they all gave their opinions fully agreeing with all the said Votes of the Council of war.

6th. Friday the King returned from Laaland to Kronborg Castle.¹

7th. Saturday the General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows with a Treaty delivered him by his Majesty's Commissioners in answer to the Treaty of Assistance offered to them by Sir P. M. In answer to which the General wrote the ensuing letter to Sir P. M. and sent it to him early on Sunday morning, the 8th of May.

*To Sir Philip Meadows at Elsinore.*²

Sir,—I have perused the Treaty delivered unto you and I observe that it differs much and very substantially from the treaty of assistance referred unto in my instructions. The terms of the assistance are high (and, I believe, easy to be shown to be inconvenient for England) and the compensation for it is also much diminished, and the most principal article (of exclusion of the enemies of either out of the Baltic Sea) wholly taken away : and truly I do believe such a treaty will not be accepted in England ; if it be accepted,

¹ This line is autograph. The next entry is by Howe.

² This letter in Creed's writing.

yet the very transactions thereabouts must necessarily consume more time than probably the bringing the contention in these parts to an issue will do, and then it is easy to conceive it altogether useless, unless for continuing things in suspense and delay. And certainly this is the game played on all hands towards the fleet; the Dane and Hollander that we may give time for the joining of their succours and fitting themselves, as also that we should not pursue advantages against them, whereof we have slipped many, and consumed much time (through the Swedes' backwardness to comply with the desires of England); the Swede that we may be brought together by the ears with Holland and he loose, and have engaged himself to nothing for England; you see in the Treaty lately transacted in Holland, the chief design of it was to get three weeks or a month's time, and so it is come to pass that I have consumed as much time here and to very little purpose, which hath gratified them in what they aimed at.

Sir, you know from the beginning I pressed haste and plainness to avoid the inconveniences abovesaid, and I think it still is of the same or greater concernment. And as for this paper Treaty, you may send it to England if you will, or not. But doubtless it is necessary to demand a speedy and categorical ay¹ or no to the Treaty of assistance mentioned in my instructions; and this is the opinion of the flag officers of the fleet as well as of myself. In order whereunto I offer you my advice, that the Treaty which you give in unto the King may be complete both as to the translation thereof (if it must be Latin and not English) and that the preamble and last article be not omitted nor anything altered substantially

¹ MS. I.

(but only words of small importance if it shall be desired of them) which I conceive your own instructions allow the changing of. That so, if the King agree and ratify it, when it comes to me, it may be such as my instructions warrant the assistance upon, the 8th instruction putting the assistance upon the satisfaction given according to a Treaty (a copy whereof is delivered to me) and the 14 instruction requiring the agreeing and ratifying the Treaty (therewith delivered unto me). Having once stated the Treaty thus before the King of Sweden's eyes, and that with all possible speed, I conceive you will assiduously demand without any put off an answer suddenly, ay or no ; and such answers as you receive favour me with the daily intelligence of.

It is a most unreasonable thing to put the fleet upon the hazard of engaging England in a war and have no knowledge of the King of Sweden's mind as to that Treaty of assistance ; and all answers but ay or no are not fair, because the season urges, before any issue can possibly be of new Treaties. And you well understand the possibility of the fleet's being suddenly put to it according to the resolution of the Council of War which they are now in pursuance of.

As to the sick men, I have desired the Vice Admiral to go on shore to you on Monday morning and resolve on matters concerning them.

For my waiting on the King (which I very much desire to do), it may be I shall bring with me about 12 commanders or more and about 5 oclock in the afternoon on Monday ; I desire you would advise where will be the best landing (I had rather I could land immediately and use no coaches). For your company, I should be very glad of it, but leave that to your best discretion.

After all this, if the wind come up fair for my voyage, I must not lose the opportunity. Thus I remain, Your humble servant, E. M.

Naseby off the Lapp, 7th May 1659.

I pray send me a copy of the Treaty offered last unto you.

8th. Sunday.¹ It being thought necessary that the General should wait upon the King of Sweden, in regard the fleet only expected a wind to be under sail, and so might lose the opportunity, this afternoon the General attended by several of the commanders of the fleet went ashore a little to the northward of Kronborg Castle, where he was received by the Count Tott and the Count Brahe sent by his Majesty for that purpose; and in the King's coaches himself and the commanders of the fleet was conducted to the castle of Kronborg and after the visit performed to the King and Queen in like manner returned back again to the fleet.

9th. Monday in the afternoon the Lord Christierne Bond (formerly Ambassador in England and now a Commissioner to treat about the English affairs) died at Elsinore.

10th. Tuesday. Monsieur Coyet came on board the General from the King to discourse about the treaty of assistance.

11th. Wednesday. Monsieur Barkman came on board the General to communicate news received from General Wrangel,² which the General

¹ Journal henceforward written by Howe.

² Karl Gustaf Wrangel. Commanded the Swedish fleet and its Dutch auxiliaries in the victory against the Danes in 1644. Field-Marshal 1646. Riksadmiral (Admiral of the Kingdom) 1657. Commanded the Swedish fleet in the Battle of the Sound in 1658.

received also in a letter from Sir Philip Meadows ; as also a translation of the Treaty of assistance which the General perused and returned him back again the next morning.

14th. Saturday. The King of Sweden being at Landscrona sent Monsieur Barkman to the General about the Treaty of assistance, as also to communicate news from General Wrangel and from Holland.

15th. Sunday. Monsieur Coyet and Sir George Ayscue ¹ came aboard the General from the King.

16th. Monday. The General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows, with letters enclosed from Mr Ewer from Copenhagen. In the evening the King came from on board his fleet to Kronborg Castle.² At a Council of War held on board the Naseby at anchor off Helsingborg ³ the 16 May 1659 where were present the Admiral, Vice Admiral Goodson, Rear Admiral Stayner, Capt. Cuttance, Capt. Clark, Capt. Blag, Capt. Young, Capt. Witheridge, Capt. Whitehorne, Capt. Blake, Capt. Teddiman, Capt. Harman, Capt. Hayward, Capt. Smith, Capt. Nixon, Capt. Lambert, Capt. Pool, Capt. Wager, Capt. Curtis, Capt. Ames, Capt. Robinson, Capt. Ketcher, Capt. Gilpin, Capt. Symons, Capt. Sansum, Capt. Plumley, Capt. Sparling, Capt. Allen, Capt. Grimsditch, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Holland and Capt. Archer.

The General communicated the intelligence he received from the King of Sweden of the probability that Admiral Obdam with his fleet designed to pass through the Belt towards the Skaw to endeavour a conjunction with the other fleet from

¹ MS. Askey.

² This sentence in autograph. Following minutes by Creed.

³ MS. Elsenburg.

Holland designed for these parts ; and also caused his instructions to be read ; and upon the whole matter desired their advice.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the fleet should forbear the prosecution of the former Vote of the 4th of May of sailing towards Copenhagen, And that the next opportunity of wind and weather they should sail by the island Haselm towards the mouth of the Belt and thereabouts berth themselves in the most advantageous manner to hinder the conjunction of the Dutch or Danish fleet within the Belt and that fleet expected from Holland one with the other.

17th. Tuesday. In the afternoon the General went to take his leave of the King at the Castle of Kronborg, the fleet being preparing to sail according to the last vote of the Council of War. The King desired the General to stay supper with him, which accordingly he did ; at which very time Mr Holliday being returned from England in the Basing with a packet came to the General to the Castle.

18th. At a Council of War held on board the Naseby at anchor a little off Helsingborg the 18th of May 1659 where were present the General, Vice Admiral Goodson, Rear Admiral Stayner, Capt. Cuttance, Capt. Clark, Capt. Blag, Capt. Young, Capt. Witheridge, Capt. Whitehorne, Capt. Earning, Capt. Blake, Capt. Teddiman, Capt. Harman, Capt. Hayward, Capt. Smith, Capt. Nixon, Capt. Lambert, Capt. Wager, Capt. Pool, Capt. Curtis, Capt. Ames, Capt. Robinson, Capt. Kirby, Capt. Parkes, Capt. Ketcher, Capt. Gilpin, Capt. Symons, Capt. Sansum, Capt. Plumley, Capt. Sparling, Capt. Allen, Capt. Grimsditch, Capt. Archer, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Fleet, Capt. Holland, Capt. Hodges.

The General communicated the intelligence he received last night by the Basing from England, and caused a letter from his Highness, dated the 5th instant, concerning the management of the fleet to be read, as likewise a letter signed by the Lord Fleetwood and divers other officers of the Army, together with two votes of Parliament and certain resolves of the Council of officers of the Army ; and the late printed petition and representation of the Army was also produced, but not read none desiring it, it being already known to the officers ; all which papers were enclosed in the aforesaid letter of the Lord Fleetwood etc.

Upon consideration etc.

It was resolved unanimously that the fleet do not put in execution the Resolves of the Council of War held the 16th instant for the lying of the fleet near the mouth of the Belt to impede the conjunction of the Dutch fleets.

Resolved that in the breast of the Coll is the best place (as things now stand) for the present station of the fleet, and that we sail thither with the first wind.

At another Council of War held the 20th of May 1659 (all the same commanders present as above) It was upon further consideration of the present condition of affairs Resolved unanimously that it is most advisable that with the first opportunity of wind and weather the fleet set sail for the Skaw, as being the best place for answering all ends.

18th. Wednesday. In the afternoon the General went ashore to Kronborg Castle to take leave of the King.

19th. The General with the fleet sailed out of the Sound and came to an anchor upon the coast of Zealand over against Halsnaes.

20th. Friday. The General called a Council of War to reconsider the present condition of affairs, who gave their advice according as is before set down.

21st. Saturday. The General weighed anchor and sailed with the fleet bound for the Skaw, leaving the Speaker behind to transport the Duke of Holstein to Heligoland.¹

22nd. Sunday. The General being under sail off Waersbergen² a Dutch pilot boat came in to him bringing Mr Baker, the messenger, with a packet from Mr Downing out of Holland and news that they passed through the Dutch fleet about forty sail of men of war upon the Dogger Bank on the 15th instant. Whereupon the General called a Council of War and advised with them upon the present affair, who resolved according as is hereafter expressed. At a Council of War held on board the Naseby under sail off Waersbergen 22 May 1659 where were present the General, Vice Admiral Goodson, Rear Admiral Stayner . . .³

The General gave to understand that he had received just then a letter from the English Resident at the Hague with a treaty (enclosed) agreed unto by England, France and Holland in reference to the accommodating of the war in these parts, as also that the Holland fleet are for certain arrived at or near the Skaw, with Commissioners on board that are instructed to manage a Treaty for peace accordingly.

Upon consideration whereof:—

Resolved that the fleet sail back and return to an anchor abreast the Coll.

¹ MS. Heiligheland.

² Probably Varberg in Sweden, some 70 miles N. of the Sound.

³ A blank in the MS. here.

23rd. Monday. In the morning the General came to an anchor off the Coll, it bearing N.N.E. about two leagues off. In the evening the General sent a letter to Admiral Obdam with a copy of the treaty concluded in Holland May 21/11.

24th. Tuesday. In the morning the General received an answer from De Ruyter (who was then about the Anholt¹ Island) to his delivered at the Skaw by the ketch that attended the Bradford.² About noon there came on board the General the Secretary of Monsieur Vogelzanck and another Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Denmark, who brought a letter from them desiring a man of war of the General's fleet to accompany them to Copenhagen, which the General granted and ordered the Newbury for that purpose.

Towards evening Monsieur Vogelzanck and his consort as also Monsieur Slingelandt Ambassador to the King of Sweden from Holland came on board the General.³

25th. Wednesday. Sir Philip Meadows met the General at the mill, over against the fleet. The General sent a letter to the Dutch Ambassador to advise them to forbear going through the Sound until the King of Sweden's consent was obtained thereunto.

26th. Thursday. About noon the Hind ketch came from England bringing Mr Pepys, Mr Smith and a packet for the General from the Committee of Safety.

27th. Friday. In the evening the General sent the Hind and Eaglet ketches with Mr Pepys

¹ MS. Anote.

² Ruyter's letter is printed on pp. 169 and 170 of Brandt's *Leven van M. de Ruiter*.

³ Pieter Vogelzanck and Govert van Slingelandt were two of the Dutch commissioners.

and Mr Baker the messenger with packets for England. The General sent a letter to the Committee of Safety, a copy whereof is among his loose papers.

29th. Sunday. In the morning the General received a letter from Mr Downing from the Hague with a copy of the Treaty lately concluded there ; and about noon another duplicate of the same, both by Holland posts. The same morning also Monsieur Huybert¹ came in a Hollands ship into the road with the General and came and dined aboard with him.

June 1st. In the morning the General received a letter from De Ruyter, he being with his fleet at an anchor between the Great Holmes² and the island Veirö³ near the Jutland coast, about forty sail of men of war and 40 sail of merchants ships.

The day before this the General went along with Sir P. M. to Fredriksborg, dined there and returned back again in the evening.

5th. In the morning the General received by a Dutch post a letter from Nyborg⁴ from Monsieur Obdam in answer to his of the 23rd.

6th. Monday. In the morning early the General sent an answer to Sir Ph. Meadows of a letter he received from him about midnight concerning the carriage of the Dutch fleets in prejudice of the Treaty and the loss of the island Faenö.

In the afternoon came in the Basing and Success from their station from the mouth of the Belt bringing intelligence of De Ruyter's sailing on Friday last between Seierö and the Hatters Riffe ; and coming to an anchor off Refnaes. He was

¹ Pieter de Huybert, another of the Dutch commissioners.

² The islets of Kyholm, Lindholm and Hjortholm on the east side of Samsö.

³ MS. Wedero.

⁴ MS. Newburgh.

in number but about 36 sail, which was supposed to be only his men of war, and that his merchants ships were gone up the Belt to General Obdam, who lay then with his fleet between Nyborg and Korsoer. In the evening Monsieur Barkman came on board the General to communicate intelligence from the King.

7th. Tuesday. The General sent Capt. Blake with a letter to the King of Sweden. In the evening also the General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows.

8th. Wednesday. In the afternoon Capt. Blake returned to the General from Elsinore with a letter of the King's in answer to that he carried.

10th. Friday. In the morning the General received a letter from Sir Philip Meadows about the Danes refusing to treat and the prolongation of the three weeks neutrality.

This day the King of Sweden sent a noble present of fresh provisions, 200 oxen etc., for the fleet. In the evening the General received a letter from Sir P. M. about the King's going that day to Korsoer¹ and the Dutch Ambassadors being willing to have the three weeks neutrality commence from the 30th of May, English style.

11th. Saturday. In the morning by a pink bound for London, the master's name John Whalebone, the General sent a letter to Mr. Pepys with one enclosed to the Committee of Safety; giving an account of affairs to this time. The General also sent a letter to Sir P. M. in answer to his received the day before.

In the evening the General received by the hand of Sir Philip Meadows a letter from my Lord Thurloe dated at Whitehall May the 20th 1659.

¹ MS. Corsaire.

The King returned to Kronborg this day.

13th. Monday. The General was presented by the King of Sweden with three horses pistols and caparisons, very rich. In the evening the General received by the hand of Sir P. M. a letter from my Lord Thurloe dated at Whitehall May 27th 1659.

14th. Tuesday. The General weighed anchor with the fleet bound for Hesselö.¹ At night anchored between the island Hesselö and Zealand.

15th. Wednesday. Weighed anchor and sailed about the reef of Nykjöbing² and there came to an anchor at night.

16th. Thursday morning. A Council of War of all the fleet called and resolved that the fleet sail to Kallundborg. Accordingly weighed anchor and bound thither.

17th. Friday. About 3 of the clock in the morning the General with the fleet came to an anchor in the Belt, the point of Refnaes bearing E. by N. about two leagues off; and about two leagues off W.S.W. was the Dutch fleet at an anchor about four score sail, the Admiral Obdam and De Ruyter being joined both together. The wind at S.S.E. The General about nine of the clock received a letter from Admiral Obdam in answer to one sent unto De Ruyter the 15th instant.

At 11 of the clock the General sent Capt. Plumley to Kallundborg, to deliver to the Governor there a packet to be sent to Sir Philip Meadows at Elsinore, wherein was contained copies of the General's letters to Admiral Obdam and De Ruyter and the answer of Admiral Obdam to the General of the 27/17 of June.

In the afternoon, the wind coming up SW'ly, the General weighed anchor and berthed him-

¹ MS. Hazelin.

² MS. Nicopen.

self about two leagues from Kallundborg bearing E.S.E. eastwardly. The Dutch fleet weighed anchor at the same time and sailed along the coast of Funen towards the Romp Island¹ and came to an anchor about 2 leagues and a half S.S.W. from the English fleet.

18th. In the afternoon Vice Admiral Cornelius Evertsen² came on board the General bringing a letter from Admiral Obdam, whereunto the General returned answer about one of the clock at night by Capt. Blag.

19th. About 8 of the clock in the evening Vice Admiral Cornelius Evertsen came on board the General and brought a letter from Admiral Obdam with a proposal of two Articles for the prolonging the neutrality by both the fleets. The Swedish fleet this morning passed by from Milfart Sound³ to the Coll.

20th. Monday. The General called a Council of War of the whole fleet, and by agreement of them sent two other proposals for the prolongation of the neutrality to Admiral Obdam with a letter in answer to his the day before. This day about 13 sail or 20 sail of ships Dutch and Danish came in and joined with the Admiral Obdam.

21st. Tuesday. Captain Compton, the messenger, came with a packet from the Council of State and another from Elsinore

About 8 oclock in the morning the General sent away Capt. Blake to Monsieur Obdam with a packet from the Dutch Ambassador in England to him and a letter from himself desiring to know his mind about conformity to the letters from England.

A packet was also despatched to Sir Philip

¹ Romsö.

² MS. Everson.

³ Middelfart Sund, the narrowest part of the Little Belt.

Meadows with account of what passed until that time. A letter was sent by the General to Nyborg¹ to Riks² Admiral Wrangel.

In the evening the General received a letter from Monsieur Obdam by the return of Capt. Blake.

22nd. Wednesday. The General sent another letter to Admiral Obdam by Capt. Allen and received an answer thereof in the evening by Vice Admiral Cornelius Evertsen.

23rd. Thursday. The General wrote unto Admiral Obdam and sent the letter by Vice Admiral Goodson.

Late at night the ketch returned from Nyborg and brought the General an answer from General Wrangel.

24th. Friday. Sir Walter Vane came on board the Naseby, being sent by Monsieur Obdam, and dined aboard. In the morning Capt. Compton went from on board the Naseby to Elsinore with a letter to Sir Philip Meadows.

25th. Saturday. In the evening Monsieur De Ruyter came on board the General bringing a letter from Admiral Obdam, and by word of mouth acquainted the General that Monsieur Obdam did agree to observe the third article of the treaty made at the Hague for other three weeks, to be accounted from the expiration of the former three weeks mentioned in the same treaty. The Vice Admiral and Captain Cuttance³ being present the General returned an answer to Admiral Obdam by Monsieur De Ruyter and at night despatched away a letter to Kierteminde⁴ to be sent to Riks Admiral Wrangel and another to Kallundborg to Sir Philip Meadows at Elsinore.

¹ MS. Nieuborg.

² MS. Rix.

³ MS. Cuttaines.

⁴ In the N.E. of Fyen. MS. Cartamund.

26th. Sunday. Early in the morning the General weighed anchor from before Kallundborg and sailed with the fleet bound for the Sound, the wind at W. Came to an anchor in the evening off Halsnaes over against Gildely¹ town, where he received from Sir P. M. a letter from Mr Secretary dated June the 3rd at Whitehall.

27th. Monday. The fleet weighed from before Gildely and sailed through the Sound and came to an anchor between the wood end by Copenhagen and the island of Hven.²

At night Sir Philip Meadows sent another letter to the General from Mr Secretary dated June 9th 1659 which mentioned the arrival of Mr Pepys in England (viz. at London) June the 8th 1659.

28th. Tuesday. The General sent Capt. Plumley to Elsinore to compliment his Majesty of Sweden and to acquaint him with the reasons of the fleet's coming here to an anchor. He carried a letter also to the Dutch Ambassadors there about prolonging the Truce.

Capt. Gilpin also was sent to Copenhagen with a letter to the King of Denmark and another to the Dutch Ambassadors there to the same effect.

In the afternoon Monsieur Barkman came on board from his Majesty. Mr Simons also came on board with him.

29th. Wednesday. Capt. Plumley returned from Elsinore with an answer from the Dutch Ambassadors and Capt. Gilpin returned from Copenhagen with an answer from the King of Denmark and from the Dutch Commissioners there also.

30th. Thursday. The Forester was despatched for England with a packet to the Council

¹ Probably Gilleleje, half-way between Halsnaes and Elsinore.

² MS. Ween.

of State. The King of Sweden went also from Elsinore to the leaguer before Copenhagen.

July 2nd. Saturday. The General (being informed of the sickness of divers persons of quality in the Court of Copenhagen for want of fresh provisions) sent thither a present of such provisions.

This evening also the Dutch fleet under Monsieur Obdam came to an anchor by the Dragör¹ Island, De Ruyter and his fleet staying about the Moen Island.

3rd. Sunday. The General received a letter from Riks Admiral Wrangel, June 28th. He also received from a merchantman that came out of the Baltic Sea a packet from England dated April the 23rd.

4th. Monday. Monsieur Otte Krag² and two other Senators of the King of Denmark came on board the General from his Majesty to represent matters on his behalf. There came on board also the Counts Sparre and [De] La Gardie³ and their ladies from the Swedish camp to see the fleet.

5th. Tuesday. About 11 of the clock the Eaglet and Hind ketches came in to the General, Capt. Ryder bringing a packet from the Council of State and from the Commissioners of Admiralty.

8th. Friday. Sir Philip Meadows and Sir George Ascue⁴ came on board and with them two French gentlemen from the French Ambassador and dined with the General.

¹ MS. Draker. Dragör is a place in the island of Amager, S.E. of Copenhagen.

² MS. Ottokrag. Formerly 'Lensmand' of Nyborg, and taken prisoner there by the Swedes in 1658. Employed in the second war as an envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg and later to the Netherlands.

³ Pehr Larrson Sparre and Jakob Casimir De la Gardie.

⁴ MS. Asque.

11th. Monday. The General sent Capt. Cuntry with the Hind ketch under his command to England with packets to the Council of State.

14th. Thursday. Monsieur Barkman came on board us, being sent by his Majesty of Sweden to communicate the news of the taking of Naskov in Laaland on Monday last.

15th. Friday. The General sent a letter to the Council of State by the Blessing of Margate¹ bound for London, Thomas Barber master.

In the evening came Capt. Allen from Copenhagen (sent from the fleet the Tuesday before) and brought the General an answer from Monsieur Otte Krag² concerning their capers in the Baltic Sea, and concerning the St John of Lubeck, whereabouts Mr Noel wrote a letter from London.

20th. Wednesday. In the morning came into the castle of Elsinore the Langport and Maidstone frigates with the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries from England as also in company of victualling ships for the fleet. In the afternoon the General sent Capt. Allen with letters to Copenhagen directed to the Lord Obdam, to the Rikshofmester³ and to Monsieur Otte Krag about Merchant Business.

22nd. Friday. The Commissioners of Parliament came from Elsinore aboard the General and dined with him.

24th. Sunday. The General (having intelligence of the motion of the Dutch fleet from before the Amager Island to the Moen Island) weighed anchor with about half a dozen sail of frigates and sailed to Elsinore for better correspondence with the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries.

¹ MS. Margetts.

² MS. Ottho Kragh.

³ MS. Rix Hoff Master. Joachim Gersdorff.

27th. Wednesday. The Commissioners Plenipotentiaries, the Dutch Ambassadors at Elsinore, as also the French Ambassador and the Dutch Ambassadors from Copenhagen met and dined together aboard the Langport frigate in the mid way between Copenhagen and Elsinore.

This morning the Forrester arrived from England with Mr Smith, bringing a packet for the General.

29th. The Eaglet ketch sailed for England with Compton, the messenger.

31st. Sunday. About eight of the clock in the morning the General and the rest of the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries went from Elsinore to Fredriksborg¹ where they had audience from his Majesty of Sweden. Their reception was with as much respect and ceremony as possibly could be. In the evening they returned again to Elsinore.

August 2nd. The Commissioners Plenipotentiaries went from Elsinore through the Swedish camp to Copenhagen and arrived there in the evening.

3rd. Wednesday. They had audience of the King of Denmark.

4th. Thursday. Had audience of the Queen of Denmark.

5th. Friday. Had conference with the Rikshofmester and Dutch commissioners (Praeterea Nota). [Note on other page at bottom is crossed out]

6th. The General and my Lord Commissioner Boone² came by sea from Copenhagen to Elsinore. By the way they called the Vice Admiral Goodson and the Rear Admiral Sir Richard Stayner on board, who at that time did subscribe the engagement appointed in the late Act of Indemnity.

¹ MS. ffretherixburgh.

² Thomas Boone.

7th. Sunday. In the evening the Lords Commissioners Sidney¹ and Honywood² came from Copenhagen to Elsinore.

8th. Monday. The Lords Commissioners Sidney and Honnywood went from Elsinore to Fredriksborg. The Lord Commissioner Boone came on board the Naseby, before whom the Captains, Lieutenants and Masters of the General's squadron took the engagement* appointed in the late Act of Indemnity and received new commissions from the Parliament.

9th. Tuesday. The General and the Lord Commissioner Boone went from Elsinore to the half-way house towards Copenhagen, where the Vice Admiral and Rear Admiral and the Captains of their squadrons came ashore and before the Lord Commissioner Boone took the engagement before mentioned and had new commissions from the Parliament delivered unto them.

This evening the Lords Commissioners Sidney and Honywood returned to Elsinore from Fredriksborg.

11th. Thursday. About ten of the clock in the morning the Martin galley came from England bringing Huzzy, the messenger, with a packet.

About three of the clock in the afternoon Gering the messenger came aboard the Naseby with a packet; he came in the Hind ketch, having touched in Holland by the way.

This morning the Lords Commissioners Sidney and Honywood went to Copenhagen from Elsinore.

12th. Friday. In the morning the Martin galley returned for England with Huzzy the messenger.

¹ Colonel Algernon Sidney.

² Sir Robert Honywood.

14th. The Lords Commissioners Sidney and Honywood returned from Copenhagen to Elsinore.

15th. Monday. The Commissioners had audience of the King of Sweden, when there was exception taken by the King at the representation Colonel Sidney made against Monsieur Frezendorp for matters concerning himself.

17th. The General and the Commissioners went from Elsinore to Copenhagen.

18th. Thursday. The Commissioners had audience of the King of Denmark.

In the afternoon the English Dutch and French Ambassadors having procured Monsieur Bielke¹ liberty went along with him to the Swedish camp and presented him to the King.

19th. Friday. The Commissioners went to take the air in the Amager Island and by the seaside met the Queen of Denmark in a chariot with a gun in her hand to shoot at fowl withal; there was another chariot with ladies in it and two gentlemen a-horseback attending upon her.

20th. Saturday. The General and Colonel Sidney went to the mill towards Elsinore, where met them the Vice and Rear Admirals.

21st. Sunday. At noon the General and the Commissioners went from Copenhagen to the Swedish camp and had audience of the King.

22nd. Monday. The General went from Copenhagen to Elsinore and so aboard his ship. The Vice and Rear Admirals met the General at the half-way house and there they dined together.

23rd. Tuesday. The Vice Admiral and Rear Admiral with their squadrons came down to the

¹ Sten Bjelke, the Swedish Ambassador in Copenhagen, had been imprisoned since the outbreak of the second war. This is said to have been done to protect him from the anger of the Danish people.

General to Elsinore and in the afternoon a Council of War was held and the foretopsail was loosed for the fleet to sail.

This day the Adventure frigate set sail for England carrying Mr Tailer with a packet to the Council of State and Richard Matthews with four horses of the General and Mr Mountagu's.

24th. Wednesday. About nine of the clock the General and the whole fleet set sail bound for Hosely Bay upon the coast of England. The Langport, Maidstone and Hind ketch were left behind to attend the Commissioners at Copenhagen, to whom he sent a copy of the resolutions of the Council of War and a bill of exchange for 1000 pounds. The Speaker was left behind to transport the Duke of Holstein¹ to Heligoland.² And the Assurance was left to bring the Commissioners' packets, Sir Philip Meadows and his retinue etc.

This day the General went ashore to Kronborg Castle to take leave of the King of Sweden. The King of Sweden also sent Monsieur MacDougle and Monsieur Barkman to the fleet with chains of gold and medals for every commander.

27th. Saturday. Being under sail over against Niestap the Duke of Holstein in the Speaker came up with the General and was saluted by him, which he answered and sailed away to Heligoland.

In the afternoon the General sent the Portsmouth frigate for England with Mr Gering the messenger, who had a packet both from the Commissioners at Copenhagen as also from the

¹ Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp, father-in-law of the King of Sweden. The duchy of Holstein was at this time in the hands of the Poles and Brandenburgers.

² MS. Hieghlegeland. This island belonged to the duchy of Holstein.

General to the Council of State ; the fleet being at 3 oclock in the afternoon thwart of the Coll.

28th. Sunday. At noon the Skaw point at Jutland bore S.S.E. from the General and about 4 leagues distant, the wind at E.N.E. a very fresh gale.

29th. Monday. At noon (by our course) the Skaw point of Jutland bore N.E. from us distant about 42 leagues.

31st. Wednesday. In the morning as we judged about 30 leagues from Yarmouth. The Eaglet ketch came to us and Bourne the messenger with a packet for the Commissioners at Copenhagen which I opened and read and sealed them up again in presence of the messenger, Capt. Cuttance, Mr Creed and Will How.

That evening my ship came into 6 fathom and $\frac{1}{2}$ water, when we tacked. At the same time the Newcastle rubbed upon a sand and struck off her rudder. This day was a great storm continued 2 days.

Sept. 2nd. Friday. We saw the land of Haisboro.

6th. Tuesday. The whole fleet came to an anchor in Hosely Bay. In the evening Colonel Walton, Colonel Thompson and Colonel Kelsey¹ came on board the Naseby.

7th. Wednesday. I went ashore at Maningtree and lay at Colchester.

8th. Thursday. I lay at Chelmsford.

9th. I came to London.

10th. Saturday. In the morning I went to the Council and made a narrative of my business.

¹ Valentine Walton, George Thompson and Thomas Kelsey. Three of the Commissioners of May 31st, 1659, for Ordering and Managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.

That narrative shall be inserted here or after the following leaf.

But after the Council of State had reported my narrative to the Parliament they made a vote to this purpose, viz : That it be referred to a Committee to examine the reasons of my sailing with the whole fleet from the Sound hither contrary to the directions of the Parliament.

And to incense the Parliament more against me the Dutch ambassador gave in a memorial, the substance of which is seen in the Parliament's answer to it, here inserted. [*Marginal note* : I judge this to have been procured by letters from the Dutch ambassador at Copenhagen, upon the instigation of Colonel Sidney my mortal enemy.]

But no proceedings were had further in the matters because the business between Lambert and them grew to a head, by reason whereof the Parliament came soon to be dissolved. And I remained quiet at my house in the country until the calling of Barebones Parliament.

Passages that concern the returning of the fleet to England from the Sound. As much as I can recollect. August 29th, 1659.

On Wednesday, the 20th of July, 1659, Colonel Sidney, Sir Robert Honynwood and Mr Boone arrived in the Sound (by the Castle) and on Friday the 22nd of the same did me the favour to come aboard my ship which then rode between Ween Island and the wood end near Copenhagen and communicated with me their instructions from the Parliament, wherein I was joined with them to act as Commissioners Plenipotentiaries towards the two Northern Kings. They returned that day to Elsinore and I on the Sunday following weighed anchor and went thither also with my own ship

and some few more, having undertaken the service together with them and so conceived it necessary to be near one another for frequent communication.

And having perused and considered the instructions, I observed that the Council of State did in especial manner require our care for the disengaging their fleet or the greatest part thereof to attend the security of the nation at home and protection of trade, and to that end in the 21st article they authorised us to agree with the Dutch ministers for the sending home such part of both fleets as may consist with the effectual carrying on of the ends of our instructions. And in the 24th article we are again required, for the former reasons and also for the danger of these seas in the winter, to expedite our negotiation so that the fleet or the greatest part of it may be dismissed at or before the expiration of forty days after their arrival there.

The consideration hereof, as also of the state of the victuals of the fleet, and likewise that it would be a good touchstone of the sincerity of the Dutch in these transactions, made me press the commissioners to a serious and speedy endeavour with the Dutch commissioners to agree a joint fleet sufficient to pursue the ends of the Treaty, the which we did propose unto them on Sunday the 24th of July (as I take it) and they seemed to like it very well and that they should consider with us about it and upon that (and another occasion, viz. of the sailing of their fleet at that time) showed us their letters from their superiors which gave them absolute power of disposition of their fleet, and further said they thought 40 ships were fleet enough to over-rule both the Kings' fleets and carry on the ends of the Treaty, and (as I think) told Sir Robert Honynwood and Colonel

Sidney that 15 of ours and 25 of theirs, or 30 of theirs, would be a fitting proportion (esteeming our ships much better in quality than their own). And Colonel Sidney spoke with me about the proportion, and (as I remember) I told him that it was the intention of the Parliament and reason would have it that we should be sure to have a force left as good as theirs, both to preserve itself from injury, to see fair play in the carrying on the Treaty, and not be imposed upon, and to promote any particular advantage for the English nation that might occur. And that I thought if there were 15 of ours to be left I would not have above 20 of theirs. But for more certainty I told him the best way in my opinion was to leave man for man and gun for gun and then the force could not be much disproportionable.

As I think the two gentlemen aforesaid did again speak with the Dutch commissioners at Elsinore, viz: Slingelandt and Huybert, and they still persisted to be willing to the consideration of this and to like it, but communicated a letter of their superiors which required them before the actual dismissal of any of their fleet to send word of the proportion to be sent away and to expect orders from the States General for the names of those ships which should be sent home. And the commissioners gave this reason for it, because their country consisted of several Admiralties according to their several Provinces and it must be done to the contentment of each of them.

I confess this did administer much jealousy unto me, considering that the 15 days allotted for the Treaty was begun and must expire before they could send home and receive an answer. The provisions of our fleet drawing towards a conclusion, and though we might then upon a sudden

agreement have spared 2 or 3 weeks victuals from them that were to go home to enable fifteen or 16 ships to stay behind the rest ; yet if we came not to appoint a joint fleet speedily, it would become utterly impossible, our whole fleet consuming all their provisions together. And it seeming very unfair that they should pretend as Plenipotentiaries to join with us in this mediation and yet pretend to want power in so material a point. And a point also which a later agreement at the Hague of the 4th of August (new style) supposes them instructed for, because the last paragraph thereof requires the public ministers of both states to advise together whether it be for the common interest that some part of both fleets 'mox revertatur domum.' Now that Treaty requires that the 15 days should commence within 24 hours after the notification of that Treaty to the public ministers, and the word 'presently return' must also relate to the reception of the Treaty, which can be no other but frivolous and delusory, if the Dutch must send home and hear from thence again before any ships could be sent away. This I represented to the commissioners my fellows (to whose memories I must appeal for more certainty and particularity in these things) and it was again urged upon the Dutch, who put us off with the same account as is above-said. And during the audiences at Fredriksborg and the like transactions towards the Kings I know not how this was put in or waived (Mr Boone and myself returning from Copenhagen to Elsinore August 6th and there remaining and no commissioners either Dutch or our own fellows being there until the 9th of August in the evening, when returned Col. Sidney and Sir Robert Honynwood from Fredriksborg to Elsinore).

But on Thursday the 11th of August the Martin galley arrived in the Sound about 10 of the clock in the morning and brought a packet by Mr Huzzy the messenger, which Col. Sidney received and carried away with him and Sir Robert Honynwood to Copenhagen immediately without communicating the contents either to Mr Boone or myself ; but I have seen it since and as I remember it hath a passage to send home the fleet after the 15 days expired and to leave a joint fleet to pursue the Treaty. And the same 11th of August about 3 of the clock in the afternoon came the Hind ketch in and Gering the messenger with a letter from the Council of State and letters also from Mr Downing out of Holland. Col. Sidney and Sir Robert being gone to Copenhagen I went ashore to Mr Boone to Elsinore and together with him read the packets and finding in the Council's letter a desire to have the fleet dismissed home (or a greater part of it) and for that joint fleet supposed to be left, this expression or the like, that a number of ships 'equal in all respects' to be left to join with the Dutch for the carrying on the ends of the Treaty ; we presently despatched away a messenger (Gering as I think) with that packet to our partners to Copenhagen and with a letter from ourselves to this purpose ; Taking notice of the Council's persisting to have the fleet dismissed or a part (as above-said) and that as they went from us resolved to bring the matter of a joint fleet to a point with the Dutch commissioners, so we desired them they would do, and reminded them of the expense of our provisions and advantage to have it done speedily and also took notice of these words in the Council's letter, 'equal in all respects' and desired them to consider whether that were not an obligation to leave ship for ship as well as equal force

(number being one respect, and a considerable one in this case). On Sunday 14th of August our partners returned from Copenhagen and as I remember told us concerning the joint fleet the Dutch commissioners' answer was as before.

On Tuesday¹ the 17th of August we all 4 and the Dutch and French Ambassadors went to Copenhagen ; (and amidst our managing of the Treaty of the 2 Kings) I knowing that the fleet had the day before but 5 weeks provisions at whole allowance and that it was by all knowing men judged that it was not safe the fleet should sail for England with less than a month's provision at whole allowance ; I earnestly pressed upon our Commissioners for to consider of the disposition of the fleet, and so incessantly every day we had discourses and debates about it. The burthen was :—Whether the whole fleet should presently sail for England or only the great ships and a considerable part of the others, leaving 15 or 16 sail behind to observe the Commissioners' orders.

The arguments for it were (as well as I remember) like unto these ;

1. That the mediation on the part of England would be rendered very weak and insignificant if there were no fleet left to back it.

2. That the Council's letters supposed a part to be left to prosecute the ends of the Hague Treaties.

3. That the Parliament had confirmed the Hague Treaties of July 24th where it is agreed that both States shall compel the refusing King (*junctis viribus et consiliis*) and it would be a breach of faith to them if we had no force to join with theirs.

4. That if it were a breach of faith, then it would be a means of dissension between the States,

¹ Should be Wednesday.

the contrary whereof we are obliged to endeavour, a more stricter amity.

5. That for the victuals of those 15 ships, they might be kept on with fresh provisions, as I had done before for the whole fleet for a fortnight, besides an expectation from England.

6. That for money to do it, the Commissioners might take it up and give bills themselves for it.

7. That for the security of such a small party of ships, the engagement of the Dutch Commissioners was sufficient. They being a State that never have violated their public faith.

The arguments against it were such as these :

First, in relation to the use the 15 ships could be of—

That they would be a party too weak to restrain the Dutch, if they should attempt any unfair carriage of the Treaty which the English Commissioners should not like, and so they were in relation to hinder them from pursuing any particular advantages to the Dutch State, or to procure any particular advantages for the English State that might offer themselves. That the use they could be of was only to join with the Dutch to do violence to him who should be judged the refuser of the Peace, which by the carriage of the Dutch and some of us (myself differing in my opinion concerning the refuser of the Peace from some of them) was like to be the King of Sweden. So that not only by words should we give the Dutch a just cause against the King of Sweden (which hitherto all their force hath not been able to procure) and bind England from assisting him and maintaining their own interest in the Sound against the Dutch (which were too much and I hope God will prevent) but by these ships do actual hostility against him (which is a further and a high degree

of exasperation) which how it suits with the interest England hath to consider the Sound or with its present condition at home to procure new enemies and wars deserves a serious consideration.

And this may serve for an answer to the opposite first argument ; the mediation will be more considerable without any force upon the place than an insufficient weak one. And though England hath not ships upon the place, yet it is able to send force when it is convenient.

And the winter is now hard at hand, when no ships can stay in these seas, and much cannot be done before next spring, which gives time for such a consideration as this is. And if the faith of the Dutch be so good as is said, and that they will proceed to the liking of us, their fleet all staying is sufficient for what work can be done this season in pursuance of the Treaty, and the charge of England saved and their irritation by blows against Sweden avoided.

Next in regard to the safety of the ships—

The 15 ships are a considerable strength of the English Nation, many years a-building, the charge very considerable, and the advantage against England very great, if another State should master them, or any ways possess them (and the Parliament of 2^o Caroli manifested a great sense hereof in the Duke of Buckingham's case concerning the ships employed against Rochelle and delivered up into the French King's hands).

Now to leave 15 ships in the Sound and send the rest home, when the Dutch keep at least 60 sail of their men of war upon the place : The question is (if the Holland faith should admit of a failure) whether there be not a fair opportunity to possess or destroy these 15 ships and our own men put upon a difficulty to surrender their ships or put

to a most unreasonable defence of themselves against 4 times their number. And the place (viz. the strait and currents of the Sound) increases their disadvantage extremely to what it were if they had searoom, which yet were too bad.

And whether so great a consequence as this is to be adventured upon the faith of the Hollands Commissioners would be weighed. It is believed in these Northern parts that their performance of the agreements made this year at the Hague hath not been so excellent as to be a ground of future confidence, and this may serve in answer to the 7th opposite argument.

Another part relative to their safety is concerning victuals—If the ships want victuals and have no supply, how sad must be the consequence. The ships must be forsaken (for the men will shift for their own lives) and possessed by the next that please. Put to sea they dare not without a sufficiency of victuals lest they starve altogether. Now the ships have but a month's victuals in them at whole allowance on Monday the 22nd of August (which is as little as will serve them bound homeward). Then to keep them on in the Sound they must be fed from the shore, and supposing that may be, yet we know by experience that before we can get our fresh provisions on board we shall have eaten another week's provision of our sea store, and then there is but 3 weeks' left (which is not to be repaired again and insufficient to carry them home). But whether it can be or no would be thought upon, for without ready money we can have nothing from shore. Mr Goffe hath been spoken with and I did not understand in the least that he could undertake to furnish it or anybody else.

And again, the shore is in the power of the King

of Sweden on both sides, and the 15 days' Treaty is out on Tuesday the 23rd of August, when a refuser must be declared (or shortly after) and if that should be the King of Sweden, or he be but jealous it shall be he, is it to be supposed that he will not prohibit any intercourse between the shore and ships, yea and before my coming last from Copenhagen we had experience of this, although no absolute prohibition of our commerce, yet such a discountenance and clogging that I am persuaded would have ended in an absolute forbidding if the King of Sweden's jealousy of our fleet had not been removed.

For provisions to be expected out of England (although they have been sent for) depends upon so many uncertainties of preparation, winds, affairs at home, that it seems dangerous to depend thereupon.

Furthermore concerning money, Mr Goffe desired bills into England for such money as he could provide (of which he spake very uncertainly and required much time to draw it in) signed by the hands of the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries, concerning which we had some debate among ourselves how far that was fit to be done, and that way being somewhat hazardous to our own particular estates, I found no great willingness but difficulty in all (except Col. Sidney) to do it, yet with this submission that if the stay of the 15 ships were over-ruled by the major part of us, then we would all sign for the money.

There was also a doubt amongst us how far our power extended as to new victualling the fleet, it being a power never exercised by the Admiralty in England but by order of the Council, and by the same reason as we may take upon us to victual the fleet for a fortnight we may do it

for divers months for a year, whereupon may depend great consequences. And it was thought enough or too much had been already done in this kind, had not the extraordinary and pestilential sickness of the fleet given just occasion to use that means for the bettering the health thereof. What has been said may be applied to all the arguments except the 2nd, 3rd and 4th, to which I proceed.

That the removal of the fleet may be an occasion of disuniting the two States depends upon that point whether it be a breach of faith on the one part, and the breach of faith must be examined by the faith given from one to the other, and the principal thing stipulated that was objected in this case was that in the agreement of July 24th each did engage to other (*junctis viribus et conciliis*) to effect the ends of the Treaty and to compel the refusing King.

To this it was answered the State of England was perfectly true, for they had by us propounded to the Dutch Commissioners and solicited them incessantly to agree a joint fleet to promote the Treaty and their not accepting thereof and determining it in time had enforced the remove of the whole fleet unless we would venture unreasonable hazards ; but *junctis viribus* must necessarily be meant such as are upon the place or shall be thought fit to be sent by either or stipulated between both to be sent. Those upon the place (if a refuser had been declared whilst they stayed there) had been obliged to join, but by the Treaty they are not obliged to stay there beyond the conveniency of their victuals or season of the year, and the Parliament who confirmed the Treaty and the Council that required the observance of it both of them knew for what time the fleet was

victualled and yet gave no order for lengthening their provisions but on the contrary expressed a great desire to have it return.

If it had been a breach of faith, it should have been agreed by both States what number of ships and victualled for how long they should have stayed there, or at least that they would have had a fleet there, none of which particulars are at all agreed, and Generals only oblige to a further consideration of the particular case, of which I make no doubt, if application be made into England of the use and necessity of forces to join, that they will do what becomes them and the faith, honour and interest of the nation in that case.

For the letters of the Council, which imply a part of the fleet should stay to prosecute the Treaty. It must be granted, yet their intention must be observed which will show whereupon that supposition is grounded, and doubtless it does appear in all their letters that they expected a joint fleet of Dutch and English to stay to manage the Treaty and that the English should be as considerable as the Dutch, wherefore they require an equal number in all respects to be left of ours—and good reason had they to be confirmed in that opinion from the last agreement at the Hague made Aug. 4th, which strongly imports the common interest of both States to be to have a sufficient joint fleet left and the rest of both fleets sent home, and for the States to agree such a thing in a Treaty to be so speedily executed as that we were not to expect further orders nor send home for any (by an express article in that Treaty) and to leave their Commissioners on the place defective in power to execute it and to need further orders from home and to send home expressly contrary to the agreement to me looks

more like a breach of faith than anything I have yet heard objected of that nature—but if they had known the Dutch would not send home any considerable part of theirs, I believe the Council would not have left a party of the English fleet in the Sound, to stand in their courtesy, who besides the advantage of their own fleet already mentioned have the Danish fleet sure to join with them which we have not the Swedish, nay in this present juncture it is to be suspected the Swedish against us also.

Besides, I may have leave to think that the posture of affairs in those parts are somewhat altered from what was supposed in England, the willingness supposed to be on the Swedish side and if any force was to be used it was to compel the Dane, or at least that the condition was such as that the joint fleet might compass the executing of the Treaty before the approaching winter. But when it shall be found that the probability of declaring the refuser (how justly I cannot determine) is against the Swede and that our arms must be used against him to make a new war and breach with him, and not able to compel him this season to what the Treaty would have, but only to help the Dutch to land the Brandenburger, disenable the Swede to defend himself in Pomern, or to give disturbance to the Empire, play their own game in the Sound perfectly and have the hands of England tied not to look after their interest there, yea their forces joined to help the Dutch to do all this, which they could not do of themselves. I say I may doubt whether in these circumstances (if I mistake not the case) the Council would have thought fit to have any ships left there unless sufficient to awe the Hollander and if need were to join with the Swede against them.

I do not remember more of our arguments, unless it be relating to the victualling of the ships ; this consideration, that although in respect of safety ships might be ventured with a proportion fit for their passage over the sea, which some ships have found to be 6 or 8 weeks and yet it is much more tickle for a fleet, and a fleet of such great ships, and if they should meet with extremity could be received in no port along the coast of England but the firth of Edinburgh, river of London and Portsmouth, and if their victuals should be out could not be supplied anywhere but as aforesaid Edinburgh excepted (I doubt), yet in prudence there must be a great overplus allowed to prevent inconvenience at home when they arrive, for it cannot be expected to give notice of their arrival and receive orders under a week's time and then to sail whither they shall be ordered will require perhaps 2 or 3 weeks more, and to be all paid off on a sudden is not to be expected and if the ships should all be forced to come in for want of victuals the disorders of mariners in that case, when pay could not be ready for them, might happily be as great an inconvenience as any hath been spoke of yet.

All which considered inclines my judgment strongly to see a necessity of sending the whole fleet for England.

And this (as near as I can remember) was the substance of all our discourses at Copenhagen for 3 or 4 days together, Sir Robert Honynwood, myself and Mr Boone inclining to send away the whole fleet, but Col. Sidney being stiff in a contrary opinion and using some expressions pretty high, as that if he should give his opinion for sending away the whole fleet he thought he should deserve to lose his head, and again that he was so

much against it that if his own father commanded the fleet yet if he could any ways in the world hinder the sailing of it, though by making the sailors mutiny against him, he would do it.

I (to my great relief) seeing this difficulty concerning the disposing of the fleet on Saturday the 19th¹ of August early sent to the Vice and Rear Admiral to come ashore at the mill about 6 miles from Copenhagen in the afternoon to advise with them about the state and condition of the fleet.

That morning as soon as I was ready in my chamber at Copenhagen, Col. Sidney came in and began to discourse with me about this debate. I did profess unto him my sorrow that our opinions should be so widely differing in a case of that consequence, and the more because of the extraordinary kindness and civility he had showed unto me in this negotiation and told him if it had been a matter I could with a safe conscience to England or the fleet waive, I would do it, yea that I would perfectly obey the commands of the Commissioners and that if he and the other two would over-rule me I should be heartily glad, and I told them so too, and I profess contributed thereunto as much as I durst, as they themselves can witness. He told me that he was sorry too but he remained of the same opinion as formerly and more found himself necessitated to protest against it and desired me not to take it unkindly. I did still express my sorrow that matters should grow yet wider amongst us, but could not deny him his liberty. He told me he must not protest against it here only but he must do the like in England and remonstrate it. Still I could not abridge him that. He repeated to me that he thought he should deserve to lose his head if he should do

¹ Should be 20th.

such a thing. I replied little, but told him as to the two last that I took nothing upon myself. There were two other gentlemen in our Commission, I would obey him and them whatever they would order me, but being honoured by the Parliament to be joined with them, I had the liberty of my judgment and opinion which I should and had delivered and did not fear to account for it to any power upon the face of this earth, it should not want faithfulness and integrity whatever it did of wisdom. He told me the King of Sweden was in this business with me. I told him it was true I did think the interest of England was not to have a war with Sweden (as the case stood). He replied no but it is because the King of Sweden is against a Commonwealth that you are so earnest in this and that the King of Sweden was otherwise looked upon now in England than in the late Protector's days. I told him it was otherwise and that I thought it the interest of England whatever form exercised the chief magistracy there. Divers other discourses passed, but I to give him all means of satisfaction desired that he would please to go along with me to the mill to meet the two flag officers and see the state of the fleet what was possible to be done, which he agreed to. And after dinner he and Mr Boone and I went thither and met them and discoursed the state of the fleet which for health they said was much as I left it, about 450 sick on shore besides those sick on board; for victuals they agreed the fleet had one month at whole allowance on the Monday following. We asked them about the provisions requisite for the fleet to sail for England with. They agreed that they had at present was as little as could be supposed for divers reasons, wind, want of ports, stay after they arrived in England, and the

Vice Admiral said that if he were in a merchant ship he would not go for England from the Sound without 5 weeks' provision at whole allowance. Being afterwards pressed by me concerning the necessity of having 15 or 16 sail of ships to stay and to spare them some victuals, they came to say that in such a case we might venture with 3 weeks' at whole allowance and spare a week's provision to these that should be left and that if ready money were to be had they might be provided with a week's provision from the shore. And upon this, to gratify Col. Sidney, I proceeded further to advise with them which ships were properest in respect of health to be left behind and out of my list drew 15 ships for that purpose in case the Commissioners should have thought fit to have ordered it me. And so we returned to Copenhagen and the flag officers aboard their ships. After supper that night we had again discourse about it and on Sunday in the evening at it again and before we came to a resolution we agreed to go to the Dutch Commissioners to see if they would yet agree to a joint fleet, and did so but had the same answer as formerly, want of direction concerning the names of the ships to be sent home, but offered to join so many ships of theirs with ours as were equal and to engage they should act by joint consent and dispose the rest of their fleet into the Baltic Sea or into the Belt, but to send for Amsterdam or homewards none. Col. Sidney, while we discoursed, leaned in the window by himself apart in a discontented manner, afterwards expressed himself against what we had asked and that he was fully satisfied upon their obligation offered and walked about the room with Monsieur Slingelandt alone discoursing. And then we returned to our lodging and debated the

matter again amongst ourselves, when Col. Sidney was high again in expressions, whereupon I earnestly desired the Commissioners we might come to a vote and put an end to our contestations, but it was desired we should sleep upon it that night and meet early in the morning to decide it, the which we did.

I should have mentioned that on Sunday in the evening after the Vice and Rear Admiral and my Captain had met together and advised about the victuals of the fleet they all sent me a letter (which I have by me) expressing that in regard the wind was set in northwardly at the full of the moon and therefore like to continue they found it requisite not to spare any victuals out of the great ships or others, but to even the proportion of the ships in order to sailing, that provision they had being at present very unequally distributed, and also that it was fit to get what more supply we could from shore, to save our sea provision.

On Monday morning we met in Sir Robert Honynood's chamber by 7 oclock and there we debated the matter again and the same things over and over, saying that that morning it was agreed amongst us, Col. Sidney and all, that it was not fitting to take any victuals out of any of the greater ships or those that were to go for England ; but now the weight was laid upon provision from the shore to supply the ships that should stay behind and the Commissioners to take up the money to provide it. And having tired ourselves sufficiently Mr Sterry the Secretary was called in, and I dictated to him the draught of an order to conclude us in, as it should be liked, which followeth in his verbis.

Ordered that the fleet of the Commonwealth of England in the Sound, excepting the Langport, Maidstone and a man-of-war ketch, do with the

next opportunity of wind and weather set sail for the coast of England and endeavour to arrive at Southwold or Aldborough Bay. And that upon their arrival there or such other part of the English coast as necessity may compel them to, advice be forthwith sent to the Council of State at Whitehall and their further directions desired for the disposition of the fleet.

By Mr Boone's desire these words were added before the order, viz.: In regard it hath been represented that the fleet hath this present day but one month's provisions on board it is, etc.

The body of this order was agreed by us all, Col. Sidney himself saying he was ready to sign it with us, if the exception might be extended to 15 sail besides the Langport and Maidstone and ketch, so that upon this point we delivered our opinions. Col. Sidney delivered his affirmative that it should be so; Sir Robert Honywood, Mr Boone and myself severally delivered our negatives to that addition and for the paper as it was then written. And so we put a determination on that troublesome matter.

The Secretary (Mr Sterry) presently took the order and went to write it over fair, I indeed (as I think there was reason for me) desiring to have a copy of it signed by our own hands.¹ Accordingly he brought a fair copy, whereunto I set my hand and Sir Robert Honywood set his, but Mr Boone upon perusing our instructions seemed to doubt whether as Commissioners we had any power to order in this case; whereupon Sir Robert Honywood and he and myself cast our eye upon the instructions and seemed to be all of the like mind as to that doubt; whereupon

¹ There is an asterisk here, but nothing has been added in the margin.

I called for our Commission to see if there was no power given in relation to the fleet and upon perusal we found none. Whereupon I took the aforesaid order and tore out my name and Sir Robert Honywood's and put the paper in my pocket and have it by me.

When we had ended our debate about the fleet's sailing about 9 oclock, in came the French Ambassador and all the Dutch Ambassadors, with whom we had some free discourse. And by Col. Sidney's desire and Sir Robert Honywood's I think, also I acquainted them with the resolution we had taken to send the whole fleet for England, whereat they seemed troubled. I replied and showed them the necessity that was upon us for want of victuals, being come to that pass by their own neglect in not agreeing a joint fleet whilst we had victuals to spare. And that as to anything stipulated to them by the state of England I did not doubt they should be failed of in any title.

They said victuals might be had ashore or at Lubeck or I cannot tell where else. I told them we could not find any such facility in it, and that if they could help us to provisions we should be thankful to them and give them the public faith of England to make satisfaction for it. Col. Sidney standing by said *Messieurs il se mocque de vous ; I made answer to this purpose, Messieurs, si vos excellances ne laissent une partie egal de votre flotte de nous joindre a poursuivre le fin de la traité et ne renvoient le reste de votre flotte aux Pays Bas, comme je me vais avec le reste de notre a l'Angleterre, Je ne jamais consentirai de laisser quelque partie de nos navires dans le Sound ; ce n'est pas, Messieurs, de me mocquer de vous.*

This to my best remembrance is the substance of what passed amongst us upon this occasion,

wherein yet I refer myself for more certainty to the gentlemen that were severally present.

After all this, about 10 oclock in the morning that same Monday, I took one of the coaches and came to Elsinore aboard my ship. And on Tuesday in the evening called a Council of War of the whole fleet and enquired into the condition of the fleet, which we found then by discourse to have a month's provision at whole allowance from Monday last past, but of bread and beer not above a fortnight's (as was feared) and I doubt it is really worse with us in all respects, through the fault of divers pursers (a matter worthy the strict enquiry of the Commissioners of the Navy), we know not how to trust any account they give us of victuals to govern our designs by.

I also propounded unto the Council of War the victualling of 10 or 15 ships for a fortnight to be left behind here, but in respect of our present condition they gave me their advice against it and for the sailing away with the whole fleet for England, according to that resolve which is entered upon our books. The which I did put all things in a preparation to pursue, and accordingly on Wednesday the 24th of August weighed anchor and set sail, bound for Hosely Bay.

Recollected for my own guidance in all future occasions. Aboard the Naseby under sail for England in the latitude of 54°. August 30th, 1659.

[There is here inserted a copy by Pepys of the foregoing account. It occupies 20 pages. After that there is a copy in another hand of the following document. This takes 2 pages and there are 2 pages blank. The whole of this sheet of 24 pages is ignored in the pagination of the book.]

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of

England having received from the Council of State the report of a paper communicated unto them by his Excellency the Lord Ambassador of the States General of the United Provinces of the 12th of September instant, wherein it is contained, that the said Lords the States General of the United Netherlands being advertised by letters of their Extraordinary Commissioners to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, written in Copenhagen the 6th day of this instant September, that Admiral Mountagu with the English fleet was the day before (alleging the defect of victuals) sailed out of the Sound towards England notwithstanding their remonstrances and instances to the contrary, have ordered that their said Ambassador should show to the Parliament in their name that the said retreat or withdrawing of the said fleet of this Commonwealth in the aforesaid manner is a very notable and manifest contravention of the solemn agreement made between them, and hath brought a great prejudice and injury to the state of the United Provinces and an impediment to the great work of the Peace between the two Northern Kings, and that they expect in performance and accomplishment of the trustiness interposed by the Parliament, that they will forthwith send back again thither their said fleet or at least such ships of war in the immediate service of this Commonwealth as are in a readiness, or such as with the greatest promptitude can be made ready, that thereby the contents and true meaning of the said agreement may be effectually executed.

The Parliament have thought fit to return this answer ; that they did in the agreements made between their public Ministers and the States General on the 11/21 of May, 24 July and 4th of August last, sincerely intend the performance and punctual observation of whatsoever is therein

contained ; so they have not failed to give full and effectual instructions and orders to their Commissioners Plenipotentiaries and General of their fleet in the Sound for the exact observation thereof, and that the withdrawing of the said whole fleet from the Sound contrary to their order was occasioned by an inevitable necessity on them by reason of their want of provisions, which want could not so suddenly have happened had the public Ministers of the United Provinces there agreed to a timely settlement of a joint fleet of both Commonwealths to have remained there for the ends proposed in the said agreements, according to the tenour of that of the 4th of August last, as was offered by the English Commissioners Plenipotentiaries ; nevertheless the Parliament do declare that as to what remains on their part to be performed, as well in withdrawing all assistance from or cherishing the party of the King that shall be declared the refuser, as in giving an assistance to compell the performance of the Peace propounded between the two Northern Kings, which was by the said agreement to be done in such a manner as the Ministers of the three mediating States, at least of England and the United Provinces, should judge most speedy, safe and effectual. The Parliament are ready to enter into such further Treaties and join in such resolutions and actions with the said States General as shall demonstrate their sincerity in all the said former agreements and their real desire of continuing not only a good correspondency but growing up into nearer amity and conjunction with that Commonwealth.

[Mountagu's own notes go on :]

I have spoken with one that was at London in the most intimate Councils about the putting

down Richard and am assured ; that General Monk was applied to in Scotland to stick unto Richard and was offered to have £20,000 per annum settled upon him and he would not be engaged but sent word that the said revenue would do Richard more good than his sticking unto him.

Further I am assured that notwithstanding the above-said, yet Richard's party wanted not power to have suppressed Fleetwood and Desborough and over-ruled the Army, but then it must have been done by the Lord Falconberg, the Earl of Carlisle, myself, Col. Ingoldsby and others, whom they thought would certainly bring in the King, which at that time they chose to shift off unto the very last extremity. Then they let in Vane and Hesilrige, Nevill etc., Commonwealth's men, upon fair promises from them not to overthrow the Government, but they proved perfidious and brought in the Rump, which inconvenience might have been prevented if Richard had not dissolved but prorogued his Parliament for a few months ; for that Parliament had much of the interest of the Nation in it, and though the Rump should have got into the saddle, yet that Parliament's interest would have procured it to meet again in despite of all opposition, and the dissolving that Parliament is held the great and fundamental error of that alteration of government.

[The next page is blank save for the signature—
Edward Mountagu.]

SECTION II
THE RESTORATION, ETC.
1660-1661

SECTION II

The Restoration, etc.—1660—1661

1659/60

March 23rd. On Friday, March 23 1659, I took barge at the Tower Wharf and about noon boarded the Swiftsure, then riding in the Long Reach in the river of Thames, off Greenhithe. About 2 oclock Vice Admiral Lawson and divers other commanders out of Tilbury Hope came on board me.¹

1660

26th. Monday. We fell down over against Northfleet.²

27th. Tuesday. We fell down into the Hope.

30th. Friday. We fell down to the lower end of the Hope, where the Naseby and London at the same time met us.

April 2nd. Monday. I went out of the Swiftsure into the Naseby to remain there.

5th. Thursday. We sailed out of the Hope and came to an anchor between the buoy of the Nore and Blacktail.

6th. Friday. We weighed and sailed to the

¹ From this date nearly the whole of the *Journal* is in Mountagu's own writing.

² 'All the afternoon very many orders were made, till I was very weary.'—*Pepys*.

buoy of the Middle Ground and there anchored, the wind blowing hard at North East.

8th. Sunday. We weighed and sailed for the Downs.

9th. Monday. About five of the clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor in the Downs.

April 10th. Tuesday. Mr Edward Pickering, who came with me out of the River went ashore bound for London.¹ And the Hon. Edward Mountagu Esq. came on board the Naseby about noon and went off again in the evening. [*In margin*—To the King in Flanders.]

14th. Saturday. Capt. Tiddeman and Mr Kentall came from the town of Dover to present me the freedom of that Corporation, the which I accepted and accordingly took my oath as a freeman.

18th. Wednesday. In the morning the Hon. Edward Mountagu, Esq, came on board the Naseby.² [*In margin*—returned from Flanders with letters to me from the King and Duke] The Kent and Reserve sailed away.

22nd. Sunday. The Grantham went with a convoy to Rotterdam and Mr Norwood.

25th. Wednesday. The Cheriton went convoy to Brielle and Sir John Boys in her.

30th. Monday. In the morning the Newbury and Advice came into the Downs and in the afternoon they two, as also the Tredagh and Newcastle, sailed for the Straits, convoy to the Hanibal and divers other merchants ships.

¹ 'This afternoon I wrote letters for my Lord to the Council, &c., which Mr. Pickering was to carry.'—*Pepys*, April 9.

² 'This morning very early came Mr. Edward Montagu on board, but what was the business of his coming again or before without any servant and making no stay at all I cannot guess.'—*Pepys*.

May 2nd. Wednesday. Mr Holmes went over to Ostend in the Wakefield.

3rd. Thursday. The King's letter and Declaration were read aboard the fleet and the whole fleet unanimously declared their loyalty unto His Majesty.¹

4th. Friday. Mr. Gery went in the Nonsuch frigate bound for Hellevoetsluis.

6th. Sunday. The Advice frigate sailed out of the Downs bound for Holland with Doctor Clarges, Sir William Compton and others.

8th. Tuesday. The Foresight went over into Holland with the Lord Bellasis, etc.

9th. Wednesday. The Centurion sailed for Holland with the Lord St Johns and others.

10th. Thursday. The ship Richard came into the Downs. The Earl of Winchelsea dined on board the Naseby. Sir John Grenville came on board the Naseby about ten of the clock at night. My son Ned came aboard the Naseby. [*In margin*—Sir John Grenville came to me with a message from General Monck that the King's friends thought His Majesty's present repair to London was absolutely necessary, and therefore he wished me to sail and waft the King over as soon as I could. Accordingly I engaged my word to Sir John Grenville to do so, and sent him over in a ship to the other side to assure the King as much.]

11th. Friday. The Speaker sailed over to Holland with Sir John Grenville. About two of the clock in the afternoon the General and seven sail of ships set sail out of the Downs, and about four or five of the clock in the afternoon anchored at the South-Sands Head, whence Sir Richard

¹ 'Not one man seemed to say no to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it.'—*Pepys*.

Stayner went off to Dover Castle to confer with Lord Winchelsea.

12th. Saturday. About eight of the clock in the morning we set sail and turned to windward, and in the afternoon anchored again, the South Foreland bearing W.S.W., about four leagues off.

13th. Sunday. Weighed again, the wind fair. About five of the clock in the afternoon we made the island of Walcheren, when the Assistance frigate overtook us with a packet from England.

14th. Monday. The fleet came to an anchor off Schevelinge in Holland, distant about a league and a half. In the morning early Mr Edward Bertie and Mr Edward Pickering went ashore with letters to His Majesty. Mr North also went ashore to the Hague to present the General's service to the Queen of Bohemia and Prince of Orange. About eight of the clock in the evening the Hampshire and Yarmouth came into Schevelinge Bay with the Commissioners of the Commons' House in Parliament, and the Norwich¹ with the citizens of London.

15th. Tuesday. The King of England arrived at the Hague from Breda. The Centurion came into Schevelinge Bay with the Lords Commissioners from the House of Peers, who dined aboard the Naseby and after went ashore to Schevelinge.

17th. Thursday. At night the Norwich frigate went for England with Sir Thomas Clarges.

22nd. Tuesday. Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and Monsieur Obdam, came and dined aboard the Naseby and went off again in the evening, when the Prince Maurice of Nassau came on board to see the ship.

23rd. Wednesday. In the morning the General went in his barge close to the shore-side

¹ MS. Norwage.

at Schevelinge, where was prepared a Dutch vessel to carry his Majesty on board the Naseby, and about ten of the clock in the morning the King's most sacred Majesty came to the shore-side and boarded the said vessel, but before she was launched from the shore his Majesty went off her into the Rear Admiral's boat and came presently on board the General's barge, as did also the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia and the Prince of Orange, and so were rowed for the Naseby, which ship they boarded about eleven of the clock in the morning.

There were upon the shore at Schevelinge many troops of horse and foot of the States, and about forty pieces of ordnance, all which saluted the King, and a vast multitude of people were spectators, supposed to be one hundred thousand at the least.

The ships saluted the King with all their guns twice over before he came on board and once over after he came on board, and once more at the going off of the Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia and Prince of Orange, which was about three of the clock in the afternoon, immediately after which the fleet set sail bound for Dover.

This day his Majesty was pleased to change the name of the Naseby into the Charles and new-named divers other ships ; the Richard was named the Royal James. His Royal Highness the Duke of York embarked in the London when we set sail, as did the Duke of Gloucester into the Swiftsure.

Monsieur Obdam, the Hollands Admiral, came aboard the Naseby in the Dutch vessel prepared for the King, but stayed not to go off with the Princes of Orange, and went away before dinner in another boat by himself.

25th. Friday. About ten of the clock in the morning the fleet came to an anchor in Dover road.

About one of the clock in the afternoon the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester went off on board into the General's barge, Captain Cuttance steering the barge and the General standing before the house of the barge. Beale's brigantine rowed into the shore ahead of the barge, the Vice Admiral upon the starboard quarter and Rear Admiral upon the larboard, divers other boats of the fleet in company ; and between three and four of the clock in the afternoon the King's most sacred Majesty and their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York and Gloucester went on shore upon the strand a little to the northward of Dover pier, where immediately General Monk met him, and when General Mountague had attended his Majesty and the Dukes unto General Monk have¹ had the honour to kiss their hands, he presently went back on board the Charles² and sailed that night into the Downs. The Charles fired 3 rounds and the rest of the fleet 5 rounds in salutes.

27th. Sunday. About one of the clock in the morning Sir Edward Walker came on board the Charles and brought [the] General from his Majesty from Canterbury the most honorable order of the Garter, with the which he invested him in his herald's coat about eight of the clock in the morning in the presence of Mr Thomas Crowe, the Vice and Rear Admiral and all the second, third and fourth-Rate commanders in the Downs.

Mr Crowe went off this morning in the Drake frigate for London.

May it please your Royal Highness

In obedience to your commands from Canterbury I have dismissed divers ships out of the

¹ *Sic* in MS.

² Mountagu originally wrote 'Naseby.'

Downs, some to stations, some into port to victual and clean, and some to Dunkirk, Maassluis¹ and Dieppe to perform your Royal Highness' commands there. All which the enclosed list will give your Royal Highness a more perfect account of, as also how all our ships are victualled at present, that so fitting care may be taken for their timely supply. On Saturday last in the morning the President frigate came into the Downs and brought with her a prize from Kinsale in Ireland. The President having no victuals left and also being necessitated to go into a dock before she be fit for service, I have ordered her into Chatham; the prize is a vessel about 120 ton, an inventory of what is in her I here send your Royal Highness and keep the vessel here in the Downs until I have order from your Royal Highness whither to send her and to dispose of her.

The commanders of the fleet, many of them, have their commissions from me, by virtue of my last commission (which signifies nothing). Divers of them have had no new commissions, but only such as they had from the Rump Parliament. I humbly think it were for his Majesty's service that they were all commissioned in the regular and lawful way from your Highness and that your Royal Highness would be pleased to appoint some way how such of the commanders as shall be thought fit to be continued may have such commissions.

Here are three castles on the shore by the Downs, Deal Castle, Sandwich Castle and Walmer. All three formerly belonged to the three flagships of the fleet for their accommodation and have been alienated in the late times of trouble. It is very convenient they should be again returned

¹ MS. Maisland Sluce.

to the former use and your Highness be pleased to pardon me for putting your Highness in mind of it before his Majesty engage to any other disposal of them.

This is all at present needful to give your Royal Highness the trouble; and so I humbly take leave to subscribe

May it please your Highness

Your obedient, faithful and forever

obliged servant

E. M.

From aboard his Majesty's ship the Charles in the Downs

May 28th 1660.

An abstract out of Capt. Teddiman's Journal as followeth:—

1660

September 4th. The Earl of Sandwich came to Deal in the evening.

5th. Being Wednesday. The Earl of Sandwich came on board the Resolution in the Downs, to survey the ship, in order to her being fitted for the bringing the Princess Royal out of Holland.

The same day, 4 in the afternoon, my Lord came again on board and gave directions for fitting the state-room.

6th. At 8 this morning my Lord came on board to see all things fitted in the state-room, cabin and elsewhere, and then gave order for our sailing the next morning.

7th. Being Friday. At 8 this morning the wind being at S.S.W. my Lord came aboard the Resolution for the voyage for Hellevoetsluis¹ and at 9 this morning weighed and sailed from the

¹ MS. Helford Sluce.

Downs with 9 sail of men of war in company with one ketch and hoy.

8th. The wind at E. & by N. We anchored in 24 fathom water.

9th. Sunday. 12 at noon we weighed anchor and at 3 in the afternoon we met with a Holland fleet of 135 sail of merchant ships and three men of war, their convoy.

10th. Monday. At 8 in the evening we came to an anchor in 13 fathom water, the steeple of Goree¹ bearing E. 7 leagues off.

11th. Tuesday. At 6 this morning we weighed and at two this afternoon we took in a pilot from a fisherman and at 5 this afternoon we all came to an anchor against Hellevoetsluis in 7 and 8 fathom water, and then my Lord went on shore to Hellevoetsluis to see the town and returned aboard that night.

12th. Wednesday. At 4 this morning my Lord and the gentlemen with him went for Brielle² and thence for the Hague.

13th-18th. Our ships rode at anchor off of Hellevoetsluis.

19th. Wednesday. At 6 this evening the Earl of Sandwich came to Hellevoetsluis with the Princess Royal.

20th. Thursday. At 9 this morning my Lord with the Princess and her retinue came aboard the Resolution, and at ten this morning we were away and fell down as low as Goree, and this day after dinner the young Prince of Orange took his leave of the Princess Royal and went ashore with his gentlemen.

21st. Friday. At 11 of the clock we weighed anchor from Hellevoetsluis and stood to sea.

22nd. Saturday. At 7 oclock in the morning

¹ MS. Goary.

² MS. The Brill.

Orford Ness and the North Foreland in sight, the ship struck 5 or 6 times upon a sand.¹ At six in the afternoon my Lord came to anchor in 20 fathom water, the North Foreland bearing S. by W.

23rd. Sunday. At 5 this morning we weighed and at twelve at noon came to anchor in Margate Road.

24th. Monday. At 10 this morning we weighed anchor. At 11 we anchored again, it proving little wind. At 6 this evening his Majesty with his Royal Highness came aboard the Resolution in Westgate Bay with divers noblemen with his Majesty, and this night his Majesty and his Royal Highness lay on board the Resolution.

25th. Tuesday. His Majesty, his Royal Highness, the Princess Royal, the Earl of Sandwich, with rest of the nobility went out of the Resolution into his Majesty's pleasure-boat in Hosewell Bay by St. Margaret about 6 in the morning, and so went for London and as I heard landed at London that night.

Out of Sir John Lawson's Journal.

1660/I.²

January 2nd. I waited upon my Lord of Sandwich in a coach towards Portsmouth in order to the Queen's and Princess Henrietta's transportation for Havre de Grace in France.

3rd. Arrived there the 3rd. Met the London, Swiftsure, Bredah, Guernsey and Speedwell attending for that service.

¹ 'My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princess and him did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock.'—*Pepys*, Sept. 25th.

² The MS. has 1663. Probably this is when the extract was copied.

5th. The 5th his Majesty, the Queen and Princess arrived there.

9th. The 9th her Majesty and the Princess embarked in the London, the wind S.S.E., and turning that way-ward the pilots stood too near the Horse. Little wind, very smooth water. They had several warnings from myself and otherwise to tack, but did not in time, so this ship touched in her tacking and the tide setting to the eastward bound her upon the sand ; but it was a low water and soon as ever an anchor was got out she came out without 2d. damage through mercy. About the same time the Princess being not well we discovered that she had the measles, so it was resolved we should go for Portsmouth harbour with this ship, which we did and arrived that day very safe.

12th. The 12th the Swiftsure, Mary and Bredah came into Portsmouth harbour. The Princess was in a hopeful way of recovery.

16th. The Princess's distemper began to be well over. Her Majesty and the Princess went on shore at Portsmouth to refresh.

17th. The 17th they let the Princess blood, which made her very weak, and continued so, and feverish.

25th. The 25th the Queen and Princess embarked again, the Princess very weak. That night we set sail. Small winds. Anchored at St Helen's.¹

26th. The 26th we set sail. Small winds, easterly. Afternoon stopped the ebb. Major Holmes and 3 more of his squadron set sail then to he westward upon his design towards Guinea.²

¹ MS. Ellins.

² This was an earlier voyage than that which led to the second Dutch war.

That night we weighed, plyed to the eastward, it blew fresh at East and sometimes to the South. Kept under sail all night.

27th. The 27th towards the evening made the Seine Head.¹ Anchored that night about 6 or 7 leagues from it.

28th. In the morning Anchored about two leagues from the Seine Head. Fair weather, the wind at S.S.E. That day landed the Queen and Princess in his Majesty's yacht. The Princess was weak, yet had been very cheery all the way in her passage over.

29th. The 29th I received orders to go for the Downs with this ship, the Swiftsure and Bredah in company. The yacht also followed.

30th. The 30th at night we arrived in the Downs with this ship, the Swiftsure and Bredah, but that day were in 4 fathom water and half upon the Rip-Raps²; notwithstanding the pilot had been warned several times the same day to take heed of them.

Abstracted out of Capt. Teddiman's Journal as followeth :

January 4th. My Lord Sandwich came to Portsmouth from London and arrived there about five of the clock in the afternoon.

5th. His Majesty came to Portsmouth about noon.

6th. The King after dinner walked to the point and went with the Princess up the river to Porchester.

7th. The King went off with the yacht and came in about 11 of the clock. Afterwards went to see the Monk launched.

¹ Cap de la Hève.

² MS. Ripers. Now called the Varne.

8th. The King went off in the yacht on board the London. When he came on shore he landed on Gosport¹ side and viewed the point.

9th. The wind at S.E. The Queen went on board the London with all her retinue. The weather proved thick ; we anchored again.

10th. In the morning the wind at S.S.W. About eight of the clock came to sail, which in short time the London grounded on the Horse. The Princess was taken sick in the morning. The London went in for Portsmouth harbour.

12th. About eleven of the clock the Swiftsure, Mary and Bredah went into Portsmouth.

16th. The Queen and Princess went on shore to Portsmouth to refresh themselves.

19th. The London, Swiftsure, Bredah and Mary set sail and anchored at Spithead.

23rd. In the morning the Princess was in great distemper.

25th. In the afternoon about two of the clock the Queen and Princess came on board. The ships presently set sail. About 7 of the clock we anchored at St. Helen's.

26th. Little wind. We anchored in thirteen fathom. Major Holmes parted with the fleet bound for Guinea.

27th. We anchored between Caen² and Havre in 15 fathom. About 10 of the clock we weighed and plied to windward.

28th. In the morning about 5 of the clock we see the blazing star, as it seemed without a great stream. About daylight we anchored N.W. of Sean Head in 13 fathom. The Queen and Princess were put on board the yacht and went in for Havre de Grace.

29th. Capt. Hodges³ set sail with Capt. Ferrar.

¹ MS. Gospell.

² MS. Kaine.

³ In the Guernsey.

30th. Little wind. Some French ships came in and did not strike. I fired at them.

31st. The London, Swiftsure and Bredah set sail.

February 4th. The Queen and Princess went out of Havre de Grace. Afterwards the Earl of Sandwich came with Mr Pickering and myself in the dogger boat. We set sail about 5 of the clock thinking to go for Dieppe, but did not till about 12 of the clock at night see Beachy in 28 fathom.

5th. Tuesday. The wind at W.N.W. About 10 of the clock we were thwart of Dover Castle and saluted. About 11 of the clock anchored in the Downs. After dinner the Earl of Sandwich went on shore. We waited upon him beyond Sandwich.

[The next two pages contain drafts of method of addressing Portuguese, Moorish and Spanish dignitaries—the following page has the signature *Sandwich.*]

SECTION III
MEDITERRANEAN, 1661-1662

SECTION III

Mediterranean—1661/62

1661

June 13th. Thursday. About 11 of the clock I took barge at the Privy Stairs at Whitehall and boarded the Mary yacht¹ at Deptford about 12 oclock and so sailed for the Downs, where I arrived on board the Royal James on Friday in the evening.

16th. Sunday. In the evening his Royal Highness came on board the Royal James in the Downs.

17th. Monday. In the evening his R.H. went ashore at Deal and rode post for London.

19th. Wednesday. About noon I weighed anchor in the Downs with the fleet and it being very foggy came to an anchor off Folkestone² land, and in the night weighed anchor again and stood along the Channel W.S.W.

20th. Thursday. In the morning, 8 oclock, a Council of War was called aboard. Our rendezvous agreed to be in the Channel Torbay, in the Straits Malaga. The fleet to be put to short allowances, 6 to 4. Fighting and sailing instructions given out. Our course shaped along the Channel, W.S.W.

22nd. Saturday. At 8 oclock in the morning

¹ MS. jaught.

² MS. Folestone.

we were 8 leagues off the Lizard, it bearing from us N.N.E.

27th. Thursday. At sunset Capt. Bennett went off from the fleet to Lisbon to the King of Portugal in the Martin frigate with the King of England's letter. About 9 oclock, by an observation we made of the Scorpion's heart, we found that we were in $41^{\circ} 18'$ of latitude.

29th. Saturday. In the morning early we were fair by the Burlings within 2 leagues.

July 1st. Monday. In the afternoon we made the Cape St Vincent.

4th. Thursday. We came to an anchor in Malaga Road about noon.

5th. Friday. The Governor of Malaga, the Conde de Torrino, came and dined aboard me, and the Duke of Tursis¹ was then in the mole² with 4 Genoa galleys.

6th. Saturday. I sent the Governor the King's letter to the King of Spain and one from myself to the King of Spain.

7th. Sunday. About 6 oclock in the morning we set sail bound for Algiers.

9th. Tuesday. About 8 oclock at night we were about 4 leagues to the westward of Cape Tenez.

11th. Thursday. About noon we came to an anchor in the road of Alicante.

12th. Friday. In the morning I went ashore at Alicante to recover my health, being in a high fever.

19th. Friday. In the evening I came again on board my ship, my health much bettered.

¹ The Duque de Tursis was addressed by the King of Spain in 1658 as 'Mi Capitan General de mis galeras de Genova.'—Duro, *Disquisiciones Nauticas*, i. 236 n.

² MS. mould.

22nd. Monday. I sent a packet to Mr Coventry from Alicante.

23rd. Tuesday. In the morning about 8 of the clock I set sail out of Alicante Road.

26th. Friday. About noon we fell about 6 leagues to the eastward of Cape Tenez¹ on the Barbary Coast.

29th. Monday. About 9 oclock we came to an anchor in Algiers Road, about a mile from the mole head in 29 fathom, Fisher's Gate just open of the mole head.

This day also I sent Capt Sprague with the King's letter to the Governor and another from myself, and to bring me off the Consul. The which was performed, and together with the Consul at a full Council of War we framed our proposals and I sent them on shore by 6 oclock the next morning by Capt Sprague and the Consul, Mr Browne.

30th. Tuesday. Capt Sprague and the Consul came on board me again about 11 oclock and brought me word that they would have no peace without liberty to search our ships. This morning they of the town had wrought very hard and brought over a boom from the mole head towards the Fisher's Gate.

I called a Council of War instantly and it was resolved to attempt the destroying the ships with the next opportunity of a fitting wind, and accordingly every man prepared and fitted his ship, but the night was stark calm.

31st. Wednesday. In the morning the wind was eastwardly and a great fog. About 12 we had a breeze at North East, with a rolling eastern sea. The commanders all met together on board me resolved it was not fitting to make an attempt

¹ A cape 80 miles west of Algiers.

then, it being little wind and such as the fireships could not go in with, if the boom had been opened, nor could the leewardly squadron berth themselves. The order of berthing the ships being agreed as followeth :—

[Here is the diagram reproduced on p. 93.]

Nor could those ships that should berth themselves get off again, if they could perform the work, and the rolling of the sea would be a hindrance to those ships who should ride with their broadsides to it [*in margin*, to all the Vice Admiral's squadron].

Immediately after dinner this day the forts and castles of the town began to play upon us, whereupon we resolved upon a sudden to veer in a cable or two nearer them and fire our broadsides, which we did for 2 or 3 hours, and then finding the waste of our powder and shot to little purpose, we thought best to warp off out of shot and wait for the opportunity of a wind fitting to carry us in to our attempt, the which we did. Their shot did some hurt to the masts and rigging of many ships and killed some men, and so we were told by a slave that swam off to us next day that our shot killed them many men at the mole head and much took place in the town and some went clear over the town.

August 1st. Thursday. Wind at E.N.E., blew very hard, no opportunity. I sent a ketch to Alicante with advice for the Martin frigate and to give the merchants notice that the war was begun between us and Algiers.

2nd. Friday. Wind at E.N.E., hard gale until evening.

3rd. Saturday. Wind N.W., blew hard. There was a great shower of rain at night.

4th. Sunday. Wind eastwardly.

5th. Monday. Wind S.S.W. an hour or two, then came to the N.W., but a great sea came into the bay, and for 2 or 3 days last past.

Wind N.W. At evening a Council [of] War was called and the question put whether we should continue our resolution to attempt the ships in the mole and it was carried in the negative. In the debate these were the chief reasons urged :— That we had waited 7 days for an opportunity of wind and weather and had none presented. In which time the enemy had perfected and strengthened their boom and made them other defences and mounted more guns, whereby the attempt was rendered much more difficult and the damage to the fleet certainly like to be greater, to make them unserviceable for any future prosecution of the war.

8th. Thursday. Wind at N.E. The whole fleet sailed out of Algier Bay. I with the Mary, Montagu, Hampshire and Colchester, the Augustine and 4 ketches sailed for Lisbon. Sir John Lawson stayed plying before Algiers with the Swiftsure, Crown, Portland, Fairfax, Yarmouth, Nonsuch, Assurance, Newcastle, Gift, Greyhound and the Hawk ketch.

9th. Friday. In the morning the Hind ketch came in to me from Alicante and brought me letters from the Governor there and one from the King of Spain himself.

13th. Tuesday. The fleet being off the bay of Alicante I sent the Hampshire in to Mr Blunden to leave notice of my passing by to Lisbon for the Martin frigate when she should arrive there. I also then sent off a packet to Mr Coventry with a letter to his R.H., to notify our breach with Algiers.

15th. Thursday. Wind at North East, a fresh gale. About noon we were off Cape Palos

and sent in the Colchester to Carthagena with directions for the Martin frigate if she should be there.

16th. Friday. Thwart of Cape de Gata.

18th. Sunday. I sent the Hampshire into Malaga road with directions for the Martin frigate if she were not passed by thence.

19th. Monday. We were bound for Tetuan, but the wind blowing fresh contrary we came to an anchor in Fuengirola bay ¹ within 2 miles of the castle. In the evening Monsieur de Ruyter, his Rear Admiral and one man of war more came to an anchor by us. De Ruyter sent his Judge Advocate on board me in compliment. He informed me that off the Northern Cape ² on the 10/20 of July he fell in company with 3 English men of war, the Assistance, Capt Wye commander, who wore a flag in the main top (and they supposed might have the Portugal ambassador on board), the Adventure, Capt Hugh Hide commander, and another small frigate, and 4 merchant ships which I think were loaden with horse upon the Portugal's account. They say that they sailed on in company to the Burlings and they judge the ships arrived at Lisbon the 15/25 of July certainly.³

20th. Tuesday. De Ruyter set sail about 2 in the morning and met with 3 sail of his fleet, whereof they said 9 were at Cadiz and 4 at Malaga. De Ruyter's fleet in all are 17 sail and one ship of masts.

21st. Wednesday. In the afternoon I set sail bound for Tetuan with the 3 other great ships and the 2 men of war ketches, leaving the Colchester and Augustine to convoy to Lisbon 2 small merchant pinks and our own small ketches.

¹ Between Malaga and Marbella.

² Finisterre.

³ See p. xxxv.

In the evening we met 3 sail of Englishmen bound for Malaga, the Olive Branch one, whose master came on board me and told me that he came from London the 3 of August and out of the Downs the 6 of August, where were 16 sail of the King's ships said to be bound for Lisbon. He said that Major Holmes was come into the river of Thames from Gambia. He said he met a ketch and 2 vessels with horses off the Burlings that were bound in for Lisbon.

The wind was all this day as it had been ever since I came into Fuengirola Bay, about W.S.W.

22nd. Thursday. The wind sprung up at N.E. a fine gale.

23rd. Friday. In the evening we fell with the point eastward of the bay of Targa¹ (as we supposed).

25th. Sunday. We came to an anchor in the road of Tetuan on the Barbary coast. I proffered the Governor to confirm the ancient articles, but he desired assurance in the articles that their goods and persons should be safe and free although taken in any man of war of Algiers.

I agreed their persons should be free, if they were only passengers and not serving as mariners or soldiers, but as to their goods I utterly refused any article of that kind fearing inconvenience by the fraud of their owning the Algiers goods and so eluding that war. Yet I offered them to give direction to the ships in those seas, that when they met with such a case wherein they were concerned and no suspicion of fraud was, to use them friendly and to *return* them.

Whereupon the Governor would not firm any peace, but signified to the Consul that he might stay as formerly and all such English vessels as

¹ An inlet in Tetuan Bay, S.E. from Tetuan.

should enter the river he would secure and protect from harm, but for those that should be at an anchor at sea he would not.

I directed the Consul to stay there and hold on as fair as could be and to expect further directions, and wished that the Governor might know that I went away with intentions of friendship and good correspondence as before, although he would not sign any new peace. .

27th. Tuesday. I set sail about noon out of the road of Tetuan bound for Lisbon, having directed the Hampshire to touch at Sallye to bring me the best news he could there learn and so come to Lisbon.

28th. Wednesday. Wind E.S.E. At noon Tangier bore from us S. and by E. About evening it fell calm, the current setting into the Straits, and being about 3 leagues off Trafalgar and 3 leagues W. and by S. from Tarifa we came to an anchor in 84 fathom, foul ground and great overfalls, having at one cast of the lead 80 fathom, next 50, next 60, and then 84. I sent the Lieutenant in a boat to sound in towards Tarifa and he found it shoaler and worse of the same kind. It was our kedge anchor we let fall with 2 hawsers bent and about an hour after sunset a gale fresh sprung up eastwardly, so we weighed and our anchor when he came up brought up a rock of 400 weight. This evening we spoke with 2 small ships from Newfoundland, the first we heard of this year.

September 1st. Sunday. About 6 in the morning Cape St Vincent bore of us E. and by N., 7 or 8 leagues off.

2nd. Monday. Plying up for Cape Espichel.¹ In the afternoon we met the Martin frigate

¹ MS. Pitcher.

and Captain Bennett came on board me from Lisbon.

6th. Friday. About noon we came to an anchor between St Julians¹ and the wooden castle in the mouth of the river of Lisbon, the wind there taking us scant and being tide of ebb until 3 oclock in the afternoon. About 5 oclock we got under sail again and came to an anchor in the Bay of Oeiras.² This night the Conde da Ponte³ came on board us.

9th. Monday. I was admitted at Court to kiss the hands of the Queen of England⁴ and the Queen Mother at the Palace in Lisbon.

This morning Capt Diamond with the Martin frigate set sail for the Straits to look out Sir John Lawson.

10th. Tuesday. Came in a French settee which had been but 15 days from Algiers. Brought news that Sir John Lawson had taken the 2 ships that were lading wood at Bugia and two other Algiers men of war, and run another ashore, and that when we shot against Algiers we killed them many men and beat down many houses, and that they have made a great heap of our shot in the Palace yard. This day I kissed the hands of the Queen of England and King and Queen of Portugal.

11th. Wednesday. The Hampshire came in from Sallee. Brought news that the Castle is straitly besieged by the Town, they having forts upon both the points of each side at the entrance in of the river. That from that fort on the Castle

¹ MS. Gillians.

² MS. Wyers.

³ Francisco de Mello e Torres, Conde da Ponte, Marques de Sande, Ambassador to England in 1657-60, 1660-1 and 1662-5.

⁴ Charles II had proclaimed Catherine as Queen without waiting for the actual marriage to take place.

side to the Town within musket of the Castle all along is a line drawn. That a boat cannot go to the Castle but in the night, being it must go within pistol shot of the fort upon the point, and that ere long the Town probably must master the Castle.

13th. Friday. The Hind ketch set sail for England with a packet for his Royal Highness.

20th. Friday. Wind at S.S.W. Blew hard with some showers all day. Came in to Lisbon the Princess from England in 14 days with Sir Richard Fanshaw and another Dutch man of war with the Conde de Miranda, Portugal Ambassador in Holland.

21st. Saturday. I came again on board my ship in the bay of Oeiras.

22nd. Sunday. Wind at N.W. The Portugal fleet from the Brazils came into the river and passed by us up to Lisbon, being about 35 or 40 sail, very rich, reputed worth near £2,000,000.¹ They were 52 sail.

23rd. Monday. Capt Wye with the Assistance came into the Bay of Oeiras and the Conde da Ponte, Sir Richard Fanshaw and myself met together upon the shore near Belem² Castle. Mr Myles and a desembarcador came on board me bound for Tangier.

25th. Wednesday. Capt Finch with the Forester came into the river to us.

28th. Saturday. I spoke with the master of an English ship that came from Ribadeo that said the Spanish Plate fleet consisting of 42 sail whereof 16 were men of war, all very rich, arrived at the Groyne the 7th of September. The fleet made the island of St Mary's only in their passage and thereabouts met with advisors that turned

¹ M.S. 200,0,000.

² MS. Belline.

them to the Groyne for jealousy of the English fleet.

The said master says that there is no army against the Portuguese in Galicia, but that the army that was against them is most dead, 6000 men died. The Vice-King suspected to have been treacherous therein by poison or otherwise is sent away a prisoner to Madrid.

30th. Monday. A Barnstaple ship from Newfoundland came in to us and one more was come in the day before.

This day I went to Lisbon to see the Huego de Toro¹ which was in a square place before the King's palace, built on the 2 other sides with scaffolds 3 stories high hung with tapestry and carpets rich according to the quality of the noblemen and others to whom they belonged; a place railed in in the middle to shelter footmen, and a tree scaffolded for trumpets. The beginning was a water cart, the men and horses and cart all trapped and covered with green tissue, came in to water the place and lay the dust. Then divers persons clad antiquely,² some with guitars, others with drums and fiddles, dancing and tumbling in several sets and companies. Then there was an officer of the city mounted on a very good horse and rich saddle waited under the King's window for his commands. He was attended by several, 10 or more with pied coats and 6 green coats with sharp forks and about 6 yellow coats. The pied coats, as soon as by the King's command a bull was let out, struck him with darts and played at him to make him run at them and then escaped

¹ A phonetic spelling of the *Spanish* "juego de toro"—a bull-fight.

² The word is obviously used in the sense of "grotesquely," i.e. "antic-ly."

him by throwing off their cloaks on his horns. The men with forks likewise provoked him and when he ran at them then they exposed their forks to him all at once and stopped his career. The yellow coats, when the bull was to be killed, went and seized on him, one first throwing himself between his horns and then the rest falling in and cutting his ham-strings; and then killed him. Presently whereupon there came in 6 horses all clothed and trapped with green tissue and the coachmen and postillion also and so seized a rope to the bull's horns and galloped away with him out of the quadrangle.

After 3 or 4 bulls were tired and killed by the footmen then was another let out and the Conde de Sarzedas came in upon a fine well ranged horse very richly equipped, having 74 lackeys came in before his horse, half in red liveries with silver lace and half in green with silver lace. He marched up straight to the King's window and there went up towards it and backed his horse astern 3 times to the King of Portugal and the like to the Queen of England. Then turned to seek out the bull on a grave pace, and when he ran at him he neglectly¹ took a lance out of his footman's hand and struck him between the horns upon the nape of his neck and broke his lance, and in like manner encountered every bull that came out, he going out 3 or 4 times to mount fresh horses very richly equipped. They killed in all 13 bulls that afternoon after one of the clock. When all was killed that ought to be, then the Conde went up again and made his respect to the King and Queen as before and went away. Then the antiques danced again and so at sunset the company departed.

October 3rd. Thursday. At 4 oclock in the

¹ *Sic* in MS.

evening I weighed anchor in the Bay of Oeiras bound for Tangier and got to sea without the Cachopps.¹

Ships in my company :—Royal James, Mary, Montagu, Hampshire, Princess, Colchester, Forster, a ketch, Waltham's, 3 Portuguese caravels² & Mr Myles & one other disembarcador for Tangier.

About 3 oclock in the afternoon came into the bay of Oeiras a great merchant ship called the Royal Charles in 18 days from the Downs. She brought no news, only that there were 12 ships or more in the Downs to come hither, but that the Charles was not yet come there. This ship was bound for Guinea and put into Lisbon river only to mend her rudder which was wronged by bad weather at sea.

5th. Saturday. At 9 oclock in the morning the Cape St Vincent bore of us N.E. by N. about 8 leagues off.

10th. Thursday. At noon I came to an anchor in the bay of Tangier and put into Tangier the 4 Portugal caravels and the disembarcador.

11th. Friday. I sent the Colchester to Cadiz to bring me intelligence and the ketch of Waltham's to Malaga to enquire of Sir John Lawson.

13th. Sunday. This night was the last of 3 nights' rejoicing in Tangier for the match with Portugal. The town fired all their guns every night and hung out abundance of torches of light. All our ships in the road fired every night also, my own ship 15 guns and the rest proportionable.

On Saturday night there came in a Newfoundland ship that had touched at Cadiz ; said before

¹ The Cachopo shoals at the mouth of the Tagus. Sometimes called the ' Hetchoopes ' or ' Heckoups ' in English.

² M.S. carvells.

noon he met the Colchester off St. Peter's Island. He also gave me the first advice that de Ruyter with 14 sail of ships was gone up the Straits, 4 sail having been sent in many days before.

14th. Monday. I sent the Forester with a packet from the Governor of Tangier and Mr Myles to the Governor of the Algarves at Lagos; and a packet of my own to him including letters to the Conde da Ponte, Sir R. Fanshaw, the D. of Y., Mr Coventry, Lord Chancellor, S. Pepys, Lady Sandwich.

15th. Tuesday. About noon Sir John Lawson with the Newcastle and Martin frigates came into Tangier Bay to us. By whom I understood that the Martin did not arrive at Alicante until Wednesday the 2nd of October and that he met with him at sea in the offing of Alicante the 5th of October.

The captain of the Martin frigate gave me a couple of packets to the Governor of Tangier, which were delivered him by the Governor of Lagos to convey; but he says he was put into Cadiz by a storm and kept there for 7 days, and when he came through the gut of the Straits the wind hung so that he could not fetch Tangier nor hardly weather Tarifa.

16th. Wednesday. Came in the Fairfax with a convoy of 14 sail of merchantmen bound for the Channel and for London. I sent the Newcastle on their convoy to see them 20 leagues off the Cape St. Vincent.

This day also we had a Council of War and resolved how to dispose the fleet for the best service.

17th. Thursday. The Colchester with Mr Nash, Mr Rolt and my Lieutenant etc returned from Cadiz.

18th. Friday. In the morning early Sir John Lawson with the Swiftsure, Mary, Fairfax, Hampshire and Colchester sailed for the Straits.

19th. Saturday. About noon the Gift came in to us, who had been 20 leagues off the Southward cape¹ to convoy some merchant ships.

20th. Sunday. About 4 oclock in the afternoon the Forester came in from Lagos.

21st. Monday. I sent the Gift away to Malaga to take the merchants there ready under his convoy and see them as far as the rock of Lisbon and then himself go into Lisbon and take 2 months' provisions of the Consul and sail for this bay again.

24th. Thursday. In the morning by break of day we discerned a fleet of merchantmen Dutch and 4 Turks men of war edged off from them sailing out of the Straits within a league of us, whereupon instantly we slipped one cable and weighed our other anchor and stood after them, viz. the James, Montagu, Forester and Martin. As we were in chase we saw the Mary and Hampshire, who had been in chase of them all night before. All the while we were off Tangier land we had very little wind and the Turks had a fresh gale off Cape Spartel² and before in the calm rowed with 19 oars of a side and so got a good way ahead of us. When we came up to Cape Spartel we had a fresh gale of wind and then they had less wind and we raised their hulls apace. At the same time the Mary and Hampshire, that were more into the middle of the gut, had much less wind than we and almost becalmed. When we were all got out to sea we had very little wind, made scarce 2 leagues a watch. The Turks with sailing and rowing by 4 oclock in the afternoon got to sea out

¹ Cape St. Vincent ?

² MS. Spratt.

of our sight and so we gave over chase and stood into the gut for Tangier again.

25th. Friday. By 10 oclock in the morning I came to an anchor again in Tangier Road, having sent the Mary and Hampshire to cruise up the Straits within Gibraltar, keeping with me the Montagu, Forester and Martin.

26th. Saturday morning. By 7 of the clock the Princess came in from Malaga and brought with her a small English merchantman that he had rescued from the Turks, rich laden from Italy with silks. Supposed she may be worth £11,000. She was but 9 hours in possession of the Turks.

The Princess brought word also of a Turks man of war, one of the best sailers of all Algiers, that was chased by him and put on shore near Malaga by Sir John Lawson and the Fairfax. They have taken all the men, 150.

At 4 oclock in the evening came in to us Sir John Lawson and the Fairfax. The commanders came on board me and in the night they set sail again up the gut.

28th. Monday. This day I wrote a packet for England, viz. To his R.H., L^d Chancellor, Mr Coventry, L.S., L.W., Mr Parker of Mark Lane, S.P., Sir W. W.

29th. Tuesday. In the morning the Forester frigate went off with that packet, first touching at Cadiz to convoy the merchants. And also the Princess went off to convoy a caravel to Faro. By him I wrote to the Conde da Ponte,¹ Sir Richard Fanshaw and Mr Maynard.

30th. Wednesday. In the afternoon I weighed (the wind eastwardly) and put to sea, where I spoke with an Englishman that came out 18 days before from about Falmouth, but not

¹ See note 3 to p. 98.

out of the Downs until October the 1st. Little news. We also met the Newcastle coming in.

31st. Thursday. I stood in for Tangier Bay and by the way had a letter from Mr Myles which signified the Prince of Spain¹ to be dead; and being at anchor in Tangier Bay at night Mr Rolt came to me from Tarifa in the Martin and presently went off again for Gibraltar.

November 1st. Friday. Mr Myles with the Colonel of the horse in Tangier and his son and the Judge of the town and two other cavaliers came and dined with me on board. In Tangier Bay now riding with me the ships in the margin—James, Montagu, Newcastle, Waltham's and Blake's ketches.

5th. Tuesday. The Martin with Capt. Rolt came in to us from Gibraltar.

6th. Wednesday. The Princess came in from Faro. Brought the report of the King of Portugal's being to be married to a daughter of the old Prince of Orange, and that the Ambassador was gone away from Lisbon to Holland about it.²

7th. Thursday. Came along a fleet of 28 sail of English merchantmen from Alicante and Malaga. The Greyhound and Gift were with them in convoy. I sent the Gift on to convoy them off the Rock³ and so to go to Lisbon to victual. I sent by Capt Trelawny letters to his R.H., Mr Coventry, Lady S., Sir Richard Fanshaw and the Conde da Ponte.

Sir John Lawson and the Fairfax came in also to an anchor by us, the wind blowing so hard they could not keep it up.

¹ Prince Philip, the infant son of Philip IV.

² Alfonso VI of Portugal married the daughter of the Duc de Nemours. On the deposition of the King in 1663 she had the marriage annulled and married his brother, Pedro II.

³ Cape da Roca, north of the Tagus.

8th. Friday. At 12 oclock at night the Princess set sail for Cadiz with Mr Bennett, Mr Mackworth and my Lieutenant. Sir John and the Fairfax to cruise. The Greyhound to Malaga for the Purser General.

By letters from Malaga from Mr Lever I had the news that the Queen of Spain was brought to bed of another son.¹

9th. Saturday. Mr Rolt went in the Newcastle to Arzila and the Hawk ketch in his company.

11th. The Montagu came in from cruising.

12th. Tuesday. The Newcastle came from Arzila with Mr Rolt and the Hawk ketch.

13th. Wednesday. Some 16 or 18 Moors (one of them being the Governor under Gayland² of this Province) came to the old watch tower to the east of Old Tangier and made a fire and sign to speak with us, whereupon 2 boats were sent manned with musketeers, who had conference with them and very civilly treated, the Moors expressing a desire to have trade and commerce with us, but could not do it without leave first from Gayland, to whom they said they would send for licence.

About 2 of the clock in the afternoon came in the Augustine from Lisbon with letters, and Mr Charles Herbert from Sir Richard Fanshaw.

15th. Friday. Mr Myles was with me from the Governor to consult about preparing for the rendition of Tangier, and I resolved to send a frigate for Lagos with Mr Rolt and the Town Major for Lisbon, and wrote letters to Sir Richard Fanshaw and the Conde da Ponte and the Governor of Lagos.

16th. Saturday. It blew hard at Norwest

¹ Prince Charles, later Charles II.

² A Moorish chieftain whose headquarters were at Arzila.

and in the night more fierce ; a great sea went in the bay of Tangier.

18th. Monday. About 8 in the morning we weighed, to have a sight of our anchor and cable and to take a new berth, our small bower anchor having broke in weighing about the shank, which was made of false iron, hollow 3 foot in length in the heart of him. The weather was showery, the wind shifting to and again, so that we turned in the gut and by sunset came to an anchor again in the bay of Tangier [*in margin*—James, Augustine].

This day also the Town Major of Tangier and Mr Rolt went off in the Newcastle frigate for Lagos. And the Merchant Prize went into Gibraltar road.

20th. Wednesday. About noon the Princess came in to us from Cadiz with a month's provision for the ships not of Sir John Lawson's squadron. By her I had the news of Don Luis de Haro¹ his death and Don Juan de Gongro his being very dangerously sick, the Duke of Medina Coeli his intending to go for Madrid and things look every day likelier to have civil wars in Spain.

23rd. Saturday. The Greyhound came in from Malaga and brought the Purser General with him and news of an Algiers man of war of 34 guns taken in the English Channel (which news proved false, as is seen in the 27th instant hereafter).

24th. Sunday. In the morning 11 sail of ships were in sight, which the Montagu and Princess went to speak with and they proved a fleet come from Malaga bound for London, with whom I sent the Augustine convoy to the Rock of Lisbon. And by them I sent a packet for his R.H., Mr Coventry, Lady Sandwich.

25th. Monday. Early in the morning we

¹ Don Luis Mendez de Haro, etc., Conde-Duque de Olivares, etc., Chief Minister of Spain.

weighed supposing to have discovered 2 Turks men of war, but they proved 2 merchants, one a Dutchman, the other Captain Dakins from Zante, who saith that a fortnight ago he was at Alicante and that very day he came away the letters by the post came in and brought news that the English fleet was sailed out of the Downs.

I sent the Princess to convoy them as far as the Northern Cape.

27th. Wednesday. Wind East North East, blew hard with showers. Came into this road a small pink from North Yarmouth, laden with herring, bound for Genoa. Says he was but 13 days from the Isle of Wight hither; that 2 frigates lay at the Spit-head daily expecting orders to come for us, and that about a month ago he came through the Downs where were but 8 ships of the King's, some of them being gone over to Dunkirk to fetch over the soldiers from thence, and that there are other soldiers there at Dover ready to be put on board.

He says there is no such news as any Turkish man of war taken in the English Channel (as is aforesaid in the 23 days of this month).

28th. Thursday. In the morning the Martin set sail for Arzila with Mr Herbert, Major Beversham and the Purser General.

29th. Friday. Came into Tangier Bay the ships in the margin—Swiftsure, Mary, Fairfax, Portland, Hampshire, Yarmouth—and brought news of de Ruyter's being come back to Malaga with 11 sail of frigates and appointed all his to rendezvous there.

The Assistance came in also from Faro and from Masagan.¹

December 1st. Sunday. In the night the

¹ On the African coast near Cape Blanco.

Colchester came in from Malaga and brought word of 5 sail of de Ruyter's fleet being gone over for the Barbary coast and give out they are all bound for the eastward.

The day before the Greyhound sailed for Faro, to bring the Consul, Mr Browne.

2nd. Monday. An English merchantmen came in, 18 days from the Isle of Wight ; brought news that the fleet was expecting to set sail for Tangier speedily. He brought me a letter from Capt. Allen in the Foresight at Cadiz which gave me the like notice.

Also the Martin came in with Mr Herbert etc from Gayland, and brought one of his people to help us to wood and water.

4th. Wednesday. The Constant Warwick came to us and brought me a letter from his Royal Highness of the 9th of November and one from Capt. Allen in the bay of Cadiz. This day I wrote to his R.H., Mr C. and L.S., intended by the Colchester to Capt. Allen.

5th. Thursday. In the morning the Anne came in to us and brought a packet from his Royal Highness dated October 24, 1661.

7th. Saturday. In the evening the Colchester sailed for Cadiz with my packet, Mr Herbert bound for Seville and Estwicke the merchant to be carried home by Capt. Allen.

8th. Sunday. Sir John Lawson and the Anne sailed for the bay of Gibraltar.

In the evening came the Yarmouth out of the Straits from cruising and brought news that he saw the Dutch fleet, 14 sail of men of war, on Wednesday last off the bay of Targa.

9th. Monday. The Portland came in from Tetuan ; says that this morning, 7 league to the eastward of Gibraltar, he saw Sir John Lawson

plying to windward amongst several of the Dutch fleet, and that seven of their men of war are come out of the Straits in his sight, close aboard the Spanish coast, supposing they be gone to Cadiz.

10th. Tuesday morning. The Princess came in from convoying to the Northern Cape. The Augustine came in from convoying also 3 days before.

With me in Tangier Bay the ships in the margin—Royal James, Mary, Montagu, Portland, Princess, Yarmouth, Hampshire, Augustine.

In Gibraltar Bay—Swiftsure, Fairfax, Anne, Constant Warwick, 2 ketches.

At Cadiz—The Colchester and Martin.

At Faro—The Greyhound.

At Lagos—The Newcastle.

At Lisbon—The Gift.

At Leghorn—The Assurance.

At Zante—The Crown and Nonsuch.

Plying in the mouth of the Gut—The Assistance.

In the evening came on board me Gayland's Majordomo and another to speak with me on his part, and brought me 10 oxen and 20 sheep for a present, and 30 oxen and 50 sheep more to sell.

11th. Wednesday. The Majordomo and the other went off to the shore, and many of our boats to wood and water.

12th. Thursday. The Majordomo went ashore again to treat with the Governor of Tangier for their captives, and came aboard again at night.

13th. Friday. The Majordomo went off on board to Gayland. In the evening Sir John Lawson came in from Gibraltar with news of the arrival of the galleons at Cadiz.

14th. Saturday. A Council of War was held for the disposition of the fleet, and agreed a squadron for the eastward.

About noon Mr Rolt and the Portugueses came in the Newcastle from Lisbon and brought letters from Sir Richard Fanshaw and the Conde da Ponte.

I sent this afternoon ashore for Mr Myles, but he excused himself upon a distemper.

15th. Sunday. This morning Mr Myles came on board me and I acquainted him all that Mr Rolt had told me and had discourse with him farther.

16th. Monday. The Nightingale came in to me in the morning with letters from England and Lisbon, and the Two Friends from Lisbon with deal boards and baulks. In the night came in the Martin with letters from Cadiz. Mr Browne the Consul of Algiers came to me from Lisbon in the Nightingale.

17th. Tuesday. Mr Myles and the Aidill of Tangier came and dined aboard with me.

18th. Wednesday. About noon the Portland, Nightingale and Greyhound, with Mr Browne bound for Algiers and directions also to Sir John Lawson with that squadron to go thither, sailed for Malaga. A Plymouth merchant sailed in their convoy for Allicante, who came from Plymouth about the 4th of December and says that the news they then had was that the fleet in the Downs would sail with the wind that he expected.

19th. Thursday. Early came a vessel from Yarmouth, by the back of the Goodwin in 14 days. Says the Royal Charles was then in the Downs and 40 sail of ships more.

This morning came in the Yarmouth with letters from Sir John Lawson and news that de Ruyter with 15 sail of Dutch men of war are sailed eastwards to Mahon to clean.

This morning also came the Norwich from the

Downs in 14 days with letters from Mr Coventry. Says he met Sir Richard Fanshaw in the Gift off the Northern Cape on Saturday last, the 14th instant.

20th. Friday. About noon the Newcastle sailed to the eastward with 7 or 8 merchantmen whom he was to convoy to Leghorn and then to repair to Toulon to clean and victual.

The Yarmouth also went to haste hither 4 or 5 merchantmen that are in Gibraltar Bay waiting convoy for England.

23rd. Monday. The Yarmouth came in again with the merchants from Gibraltar. The Martin sent to Cadiz. This day Sir John Lawson sailed from Malaga for Algiers with Mr Browne.

24th. Tuesday. The Augustine sailed away convoy to those merchants for England, and by him a packet for England of the 20th of December, of which I keep a list among my papers.

28th. Saturday. The Martin and Nonsuch ketch came in from Cadiz and brought me letters. He brought news that the Foresight sailed from Cadiz for England on Monday last and that Mr Herbert was arrived at St Mary Port¹ with Major Stevens that was prisoner at Seville.

29th. Sunday. The Nonsuch ketch sailed to Cadiz to bring away Mr Lever and the Colchester, and the Norwich went to cruise off Cape Spartel.

30th. Monday. In the afternoon the Norwich came in, having spoken with 4 rich Genoa ships bound from Cadiz to Malaga and so to Genoa.

31st. Tuesday. The Yarmouth came in from Gibraltar and we saw the Augustine and her convoy sail from Gibraltar through the Gut for England.

¹ Puerto de S. Maria, near Cadiz.

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January 1st. Wednesday. About noon came in the Colchester from Cadiz with Mr Herbert, Major Stevens from Seville and Mr Lever. The Anne came in also from Malaga and the Mountagu with letters from Sir John Lawson.

4th. Saturday. The Nightingale brought in Mr Browne from Algiers. This day I wrote to Mr Myles offering the help of 400 men.

5th. Sunday. The Martin sailed for Cadiz with Mr Browne, Mr Rolt, Mr Lever, to buy me provisions.

6th. Monday. I sent Mr Myles another letter by Capt Cuttance showing at large the reasons for putting our men into the Castle to the Governor's assistance.

8th. Wednesday. The Hampshire sailed for England with a packet ; in it letters to his R.H., Mr Co., L.S. Copy of the Articles prepared for Algiers and Mr Browne's instructions forgot, and must be sent by the next packet.

11th. Saturday. The wind (that for 12 days before had blown fresh Levant) came up at S.W.

The Norwich sent to look in at Cadiz and bring news what usage our people find there that went to buy provisions.

This day also I sent Mr Myles a letter of the intelligence a barca longa brought from Malaga in a letter to Captain Cuttance from Mr Pendarvis.

12th. Sunday. About noon came in the Non-such ketch from Cadiz and brought me letters from Mr Lever and the Consul.

This morning the Portugueses' 140 horse in Tangier made a sally into the country for booty. Whereof they had possessed about 400 cattle, 30 camels and some horses, and 35 women and girls,

and being 6 miles distant from Tangier were intercepted by 100 Moors with arquebuses, who in the first charge killed the Aidill with a shot in the head, *whereupon* the rest of the Portugueses ran, and in the pursuit 51 were slain, whereof were 11 of the knights besides the Aidill. The horses of the 51 were also taken by the Moors and all the booty relieved.

14th. Tuesday. This morning Mr Myles came to me from the Governor for the assistance of some of our men into the Castle.

16th. Thursday. About 80 men out of my own ship and the Princess went into Tangier into the lower Castle about 4 oclock in the afternoon. Near 7 oclock at night I observed the moon and stars according to agreement with those that observe the same in London.

17th. Friday. In the morning by 8 oclock the Martin came in from Cadiz with provisions; and about 10 oclock I sent Sir Richard Stayner with 120 men more besides officers to the assistance of the Governor into Tangier. This evening also I sent the Nightingale to Cadiz to help to bring provisions, and by him sent a packet to go overland to his R.H., Mr Co'try, La.S. And at half an hour after 7 at night I observed the moon with the stars I have desired to be observed by others at London also.

19th. Sunday. In the morning came in a ketch from Cadiz bound for Tetuan. The Norwich also came in, that had been blown into the Straits and in some danger. Brought news from Gibraltar that there were 3000 soldiers lately come into that town. This day also I sent away the Martin to Arzila with the Moore and a letter to Gayland.

20th. Monday. About noon came in the Assurance from Leghorn and Genoa. News that

the Dutch fleet are cleaning at Minorca and ——¹ sail met at Cape de Gata that came from Cadiz. Three of them were men of war.²

21st. Tuesday. About noon the Assurance proceeded on convoy with 6 merchants he brought with him from Italy ; 2 bound for England, by whom (Capt. Gunn) I sent a packet for England ; viz. to his R.H., L.Chan., Mr Coventry, L.S., Sam P's, to whom all was directed, and a map of Tangier to present his R.H. The other 4 merchants with the Assurance bound for Lisbon to clean and revictual ; by him I wrote to the Conde da Ponte, Mr Mountagu, the Consul and Mr Cocke.

22nd. Wednesday. The Colchester came in from Cadiz with provisions and the Martin from Arzila, having landed the Moor there that was on board me. There came in also a merchantman that belonged to the Assurance convoy, drove off by the storm, having but 3 men in her. I lent her 4 men and so she sailed away for England.

23rd. Thursday. This evening the Martin sailed for Cadiz to help bring off provisions. Yesterday I sent a 100 men more into Tangier, so that now I have between 3 and 400 men in the Town and Castles, and the command of all the strengths and magazines.

In Tangier Bay now with me :—
Royal James, Mary, Montagu, Anne, Princess, Yarmouth, Norwich, Colchester, Nightingale, Martin, Nonsuch ketch.²

With Sir John Lawson :—
Swiftsure, Fairfax, Portland, Constant Warwick, Greyhound.

¹ M.S. ' 4 or 5 ' crossed out—' met ' has been substituted for ' cruising.'

² The Nightingale, Martin, and perhaps the Nonsuch are noted as ' at Cadiz for provision.'

At Toulon :—

Assistance, Newcastle.

At Zante :—

Crown, Nonsuch.

26th. Sunday. The Yarmouth with Mr North and Mr Herbert went for Gibraltar to bring wood. In the evening came in the Nightingale from Cadiz with provisions ; also came in her Mr Rolt, Mr Browne and Mr Prideaux. By her I had notice of Sadlington, who with an English ketch and English colours had taken a Spanish boat and killed some of the men near San Lucar or Rota.

28th. Tuesday. The Colchester went for Cadiz to bring provision.

29th. Wednesday. About noon my Lord of Peterborough with the garison for Tangier arrived in the Bay of Tangier, with 27 sail of ships ; and in the afternoon his Lordship and I went ashore to see how to dispose things in Tangier and were received by the Governor who delivered up his authority to my Lord of Peterborough.

This morning the Montagu went to Tetuan.

30th. Thursday. This day the Yarmouth went to Cadiz for wood for the garison of Tangier ; by whom I sent a letter to his Royal H's to be sent overland. About noon my Lord of Peterborough's own regiment was landed at Tangier and he himself in the head of it marched into the Town with it and had possession of all given him, and the keys of the Gates by Don Luis de Almeida, and a horse, rich saddle and bridle, scimitar, silver spurs and a lance.

31st. Friday. It blew a hard levant, so that nothing could be got ashore. And in the evening and night the wind slacking, Sir Richard Stayner brought our seamen on board again from the Town.

Seven merchant ships bound for Leghorn and Genoa set sail, and my ketch for Cadiz.

February 1st. Saturday. I went ashore to Tangier to help to settle and advise matters, and our boats landed some men and provisions. Three boat load was turned back again from the shore for want of help ashore to clear them.

2nd. Sunday. It blew hard at N.W., so no good to be done to disembark. In the morning Capt. Poole sailed away for Smyrna convoy to the merchant ship John and Margaret. (I gave him order, if he touched at Zante, to procure some plants of currants to deliver my Lord Peterborough at Tangier.)

In the evening Mr Nat. Luke came to me from my Lord of Peterborough to desire no men might be put ashore on Monday, but only provisions.

3rd. Monday. It blew fresh at N.W. in the morning ; less wind in the afternoon, when Capt. Cuttance went ashore and put aboard the Pearl a great deal of goods of the Portugueses that go for Faro.

4th. Tuesday. In the morning blew fresh at N.N.W. No working with our boats. In the afternoon I myself went ashore and got many things landed and Portugueses 100 shipped off aboard the Pearl. The Martin and Yarmouth came in from Cadiz. The Charity ketch went for Cadiz.

5th. Wednesday. The Aidill of Tangier, the old Judge, disembarcador Mr Myles, etc dined aboard me. In the afternoon I went to Tangier. Discoursed with my Lord of Peterborough. The Pearl set sail for Faro, the Norwich for Cadiz.

6th. Thursday. In the morning I went and sounded about the ledge of rocks, to see the most convenient place for making a mole, and then went

round the Town with Major Stephens. After dinner Sir John Mennes, Sir Richard Stayner, Capt. Cuttance and myself went in my boat to sound again and advise about the mole; which as we were doing, came up a great storm with spouts with a levant wind, and so I rowed aboard. The Paul set sail for Faro with 200 Portugueses and abundance of goods.

7th. Friday. In the morning I went ashore to settle things with my Lord of Peterborough and came aboard again about 4 oclock, when the Montagu arrived in the road from Tetuan and the ketch of the merchants that went with him. Embarked on board the Elias near 300 people, aboard the Dartmouth 100 and all their goods.

8th. Saturday. Gayland's Moors came to us and say he will be with us in 7 days to treat. I was ashore at Tangier. Embarked on board the James of Weymouth 200 people.

9th. Sunday. I was not well and took a little remedy. In the afternoon Mr Nat. Luke came on board me from my Lord of Peterborough. The Dover set sail for Sallye.

10th. Monday. The Breda set sail to convoy the James of Weymouth, who had near 400 people of the Portugueses for Faro.

11th. Tuesday. I dined aboard the Mary with Sir Richard Stayner. There came in at that time a London merchant vessel from Cadiz bound for Venice. Says the Spanish merchants expect a war to arise with Spain. Mr Nat. Luke came on board and brought me a paper the Council of Officers in Tangier had agreed to send into England to supply their wants.

13th. Thursday. In the morning the Nightingale came in from with¹ letters of intelligence

¹ Sic in MS.

from Mr Stayner, and the Charity ketch from Malaga with letters from Mr Croone.¹ The Norwich and Nonsuch ketch from Cadiz and the ship Two Friends. Capt. Clay his flyboat sailed loaden with Portugueses for Faro. Don Luis d'Almeida in the Colchester for Faro also.

14th. Friday. The Earl of Peterborough came on board and took leave of me in the afternoon. At night I observed the stars according to agreement at London.

15th. Saturday. Capt Utbird sailed with the Montagu for Cadiz with Mr Prideaux the merchant, of whom I enquired concerning the last Spanish Plate Fleet that came from the Groyne, which (as I remember) he said were about 37 sail, whereof 14 sail were men of war and about 6 galleons. They brought to the Groyne about 20 millions Spanish of plate, whereof was registered about 6 or 7 millions, which was taken out at the Groyne and carried to Madrid. The country about the Groyne was scarce able to find them victuals and if they had not been supplied from the ships they might have starved.

This afternoon I went ashore at Tangier and took leave of my Lord of Peterborough. My men brought off an Alarbe,² Buen Venido.

16th. Sunday. I had given order to sail for Lisbon, but the weather foul and dirty and the wind contrary hindered us.

About noon came in the Dover from Sallye; brings news that Ben Bucar³ is within a day's march of Sallye with 30,000 men and Gayland about Mamora with 60,000. When Ben Bucar

¹ Name doubtful.

² Alarbe is the Spanish for Arabian. Probably it means here an Arab horse.

³ A Moorish chieftain whose headquarters were at Tetuan.

advances, then Gayland advances also, and then Ben Bucar retires again. In a skirmish lately Gayland's men killed 5 of the other army and cut off their heads and carried them in triumph about the town of Old Sallye ; which town he says hath no walls nor the batteries whereon they have cannon hath no shelter. The Town is about as big as Tangier. The Castle on t'other side the water hath in it the Yanyst¹ and 200 men much distressed. It's believed Ben Bucar cannot relieve him.

Corn in the town of Old Sallye is worth 27 shillings a bushel.

This day I wrote my despatch to Sir John Lawson.

This day in the morning the Princess set sail with 2 flyboats bound for Faro with Portugueses ; one of the flyboats was drove into the Straits and the Breda being newly come in from Faro I sent her after into the Straits. Capt. Clay came in again also by cross winds.

17th. Monday. Came in again by cross winds the flyboat with the Governor's horses. In the afternoon came in the Mermaid with Col. Fitzgerald and a flyboat loaden with provisions for my Lord of Peterborough. They were but 11 days out from Falmouth. Sir Richard Stayner with the Mary, Yarmouth, Nightingale and Mermaid sailed for Algiers ; 2 merchantmen in his company.

18th. Tuesday. Wind S.W. gentle gale. About 5 oclock in the morning, as soon as the west tide came, I weighed for Lisbon with the Henry, Lion, York, Norwich, Martin and Charity ketch, and 2 flyboats, one with people, the other with horse. I dined aboard Sir John Mennes and

¹ The commander of the janissaries?

was driven back as far as the west point of Tangier Bay before we had done dinner, my own ships being about 2 leagues ahead of us. So I went into my boat and 3 hours time got on board again, my own ship, the Martin and a flyboat with the horses being got out, the rest as far off as Tangier, if not driven in in the night, when Cape Spartel bore of us E.N.E. 4 leagues.

19th. Wednesday. Calm all the morning. Cape Spartel bore of us E.S.E. about 8 leagues off; no other ships in sight but our 3. I sounded with the deep-sea lead and veered 200 fathom of line, but no ground struck and the line aright up and down, no stray at all.

At night a fine gale, N.E. Our ship went all night about 5 leagues a watch.

20th. Thursday. Wind N.E. Our ship's way as it was all night, and this morning we were about 25 leagues W. of Cape Spartel. Sailed all night W.N.W. till 8 next day. A very great western sea and little wind.

21st. Friday. At 8 in the morning 40 leagues W. by N. from Cape Spartel. At night the Norwich fell in our company. We made little way all this day.

22nd. Saturday. Blew very hard northerly. 6 at night we had made an East & by S. way 6 leagues.

26th. Wednesday. Wind S.W. At noon a good observation in the latitude of $39^{\circ} 00'$. Then we bore East and between 12 and 8 at night we ran 7 leagues. Then the Norwich and Martin [left us?] and Mr Herbert in the Norwich with letters for his Majesty and his Royal Highness. We stood in all night E. Ran 9 leagues until 8 next morning.

Mr Vermelly, my Lord of Peterborough's

Muster Master General, came on board me out of the Norwich and went with me for Lisbon.

27th. Thursday. Wind S. by E. At 8 in the morning we were about 3 or 4 leagues from the Rock of Lisbon, fair in sight. About noon the Hind ketch with Capt. Ferrer came in company and brought me a packet of private letters. At night we came to an anchor, there being little wind and high sea. The Rock bore of us N.E. near a league, in 32 fathom. The low point to the westward of Cascaes bore of us S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., oosey sand and so 2 miles within us, but in 26 fathom is foul ground and that is within a cannon shot of shore.

28th. Friday. At 8 in the morning we weighed and that night could get but to an anchor almost between the 2 castles of St Julian's and the wooden one.

March 1st. Saturday. We weighed and turned up and came to an anchor right against Belem Monastery. This day Mr Mountagu and Col. Talbot came on board with my commission and instructions.

2nd. Sunday. The Conde de Redonda and Don João de Sousa and the Master of the Ceremonies, the first from the Queen of England, the second from the Queen Regent, the last from the King, all in the forenoon came to visit me. In the afternoon came the Conde da Ponte.

4th. Tuesday. Came in from Pharo the Colchester, Dartmouth, Paul and Elias, and 2 merchantmen.

5th. Wednesday. The Montagu came in from Cadiz. The Dover and Breda set sail for the Salines to convoy in the Portugal East India ship.

6th. Thursday. Three vessels sailed from hence for England. Capt. Isham went in one of

them with a packet to the King. The Pearl went to convoy them as far as the North Cape.

8th. Saturday. The Pearl with his convoy for England set sail out of the bay of Oeiras. In the evening the Conde da Ponte and Bishop Russell¹ came on board me with the Treaty ratified.

9th. Sunday. I came with my whole fleet and rode above the Palace, which I saluted with 41 guns and my flag struck.

10th. Monday. The Bishop of Cabo Verde came on board me. I sent to speak with the Conde da Ponte, but he came not.

11th. Tuesday. I desired the favour of Mr Mountagu to present the Queen a paper of reasons for her speedy voyage, the which he did.

13th. Thursday. I went off from my ship and landed at Belem with all the retinue and was received there by the Conde de Redonda with some 30 coaches, and so entered Lisbon and arrived at the house of the Conde de Castello Rodrigues² where the Conde da Ponte met me.

This day the Leopard, Capt. Minor Commander, came from England and brought me letters of the 6 of Feb. from his R. Highness. This ship was bound for Goa with a Vice King.

14th. Friday. I presented myself to the Queen of England and the King my master's letter.

16th. Sunday. I had audience of the King and Queen of Portugal and after of the Queen of England. The Marquis de Gouvea³ conducted me with 25 coaches.

¹ Bishop of Portalegre.

² This must be a mistake for Castello Melhor, Dom Luis de Souza Vasconcellos, an important Portuguese statesman. There was a Marques de Castel-Rodrigo, but he was a Spaniard.

³ A member of the Council of State.

The Pearl frigate returned from convoying Capt. Isham to the Northern Cape.

17th. Monday. The Ruby came in from England, 17 days in her passage. Brought letter of Jan. 23 from the Duke.

18th. Tuesday. I called the commanders together to advise about the affairs of the fleet. The Conde da Ponte came to me and Duarte de Silva¹ and Mr Myles and brought me a schedule of the portion of the Queen.

19th. Wednesday. In the morning we began to put sugars on board. And about noon I went to visit the Marquis of Marialva² and complained to him concerning bills of exchange accounted in the schedule as part of the Queen's portion. The which I had also insisted upon with the Conde da Ponte as being clearly besides the Treaty, which expresses it to be in money, jewels, sugars or other merchandises.

This afternoon I went to wait upon the Queen of England to see whether she had any commands for me and to present the compliments of my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Treasurer unto her Majesty, which her Majesty received with very gracious expressions for them, and afterwards she told me that she did very earnestly recommend unto my care the schedule of the portion delivered me the day before by the Conde da Ponte. That her Majesty had overcome almost impossibilities to hasten her voyage and that I must put myself to the mastering some difficulties also ; and that I should consider the poverty of the

¹ A Portuguese Jew who negotiated the financial side of the marriage.

² Dom Antonio Luis de Meneses, Conde de Cautanhede, Marques de Marialva. Commander-in-Chief against the Spaniards in 1662-3.

Portugal nation caused by the oppression of their enemies.

Her Majesty also told me that it was probable that the enemies of Portugal would send a fleet to invade the river Tagus as soon as this fleet should be sailed for England, and therefore wished me to send for Sir John Lawson to come to Lisbon to assist them ; and assured me that both the King and the Duke of York would take it well at my hands.

To all I returned her Majesty answer : That no person should be more careful to master all kind of difficulties in this service than myself and that I would consider what squadron of the fleet could be here soonest and accordingly wait upon her Majesty and give her Majesty further satisfaction.

20th. Thursday. In the morning I went to wait upon the Queen of England again, and concerning the schedule of the portion I gave her Majesty a paper (to avoid uncertainties of interpretation). And for the ships, I told her Majesty according to her commands I had sent for Sir John Lawson to come hither.

I also desired her Majesty to give command that they might work at 2 places for the delivering of the sugar, which at the rate it was now adoining would cost 12 or 14 days to dispatch.

At night I had 2 letters from the Secretary of State showing the necessity of accepting bills ; and also an answer of my demand of 200,000 crowns for the King's occasions, that I might have 100,000 when I would but no more, except 50,000 in bars of gold and silver.

21st. Friday. In the afternoon I went to return the Conde da Ponte his visit and then discoursed with him urging the Treaty and the

interest of the Queen and Portugal to be precise in performance of the first million, and to put merchandises aboard and not bills of exchange. He told me it was both unreasonable and also impossible for all Portugal to do it.

22nd. Saturday. In the morning I went to wait upon the Queen Regent to receive her commands, to press expedition of the Queen's voyage and to let her know that I had sent for Sir John Lawson; and also to show that if this fleet were despatched away it might be here again sooner for their assistance than Sir John could be.

After I came home from the Queen the Conde da Ponte and Senhor Duarte de Silva came to my house with jewels for part of the portion, which were viewed and estimated by Sir H. Wood, Sir John Mennes, Capt. Minor, the Consul and a French jeweller, and then put into the King's iron trunk, which Duarte de Silva carried home with him and Sir John Mennes kept the key, who is also appointed to transport Duarte de Silva and the jewels.

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25th. Tuesday. In the morning came the Conde da Ponte and Duarte de Silva with more jewels, which were valued and placed as before-said. I discoursed the schedule of the portion with the Conde da Ponte and desired to know of him how I should be satisfied if any considerable failing were in the price of any of the merchandise according to my estimation, and also to know the nature and particulars of the bills of exchange they offered.

26th. Wednesday. Mr Talbot went to wait upon both the Queens. The Queen Mother had much discourse with him as if I had put impedi-

ments to the Queen's voyage, my carriage not having been well represented unto her. Mr Talbot informed her Majesty of the truth of what hath passed, wherewith she seemed well satisfied, and the Queen of England also was well contented.

This evening I had a list from the Secretary of the persons that are to attend the Queen.

27th. Thursday. I finished my packet by Mr Talbot and the Pearl weighed and fell down below Belem and there came to an anchor. In the afternoon from the water I saw the sheet Our Saviour was wrapped in from the Cross exposed at Madre de Dios, and a friar preached.

28th. Good Friday. The Pearl went out of the river. I went in the afternoon into the Ruo Nuevo where I saw the procession of the burying Our Saviour. The day before also I was at St Bento and a parish church to see the sepulchres.

29th. Saturday. The Assurance set sail for Tangier with the Swallow ketch and Sadlington's boats to make restitution at Cadiz.

In the afternoon I waited upon both Queens and gave them 'buenos festos.' To the Queen of England I delivered in a paper the state of my business, referring myself wholly to her Majesty's pleasure.

April 2nd. Wednesday. The Conde da Ponte, Francisco Correa de Silva, the Bishop of Cabo Verde and Mr Myles dined with me. After dinner I went with them on board the Royal Charles to see the accommodation for the Queen's voyage.

At night I caused a note to be drawn of the cabins of the ship and what servants English was of necessity to be in the ship with the Queen, and then left the rest and all to the Queen's dispose by a letter to the Secretary of State wherein this note was enclosed; and further I desired from

him a perfect list of all that would accompany the Queen, to accommodate them truly and well.

3rd. Thursday. The Queen of England being ill of a cold, I went to the door of her chamber to enquire of her health. In the afternoon I went to Ode Velas Convent.

4th. Friday. Duarte de Silva came in the morning with more jewels and promised great haste both for the sugars and other merchandises.

5th. Saturday. I went to wait upon the Queen Regent and told her Majesty what I was commanded in my last instruction and recommended Don Luis de Almeida and Mr Myles and the Secretary of the Embassy to the Queen's favour, and also gave her Majesty thanks for her favours bestowed upon the Conde da Ponte. The Queen of England sent to speak with me and accordingly I went and received her Majesty's commands which were to take special care to accommodate those persons that went along with her Majesty into England.

In the afternoon the Conde da Ponte and Don João de Sousa went with me on board the ship Charles and designed out quarters to all that the Queen had appointed to go in her own ship.

7th. Monday. I went to wait upon the Queen of England to desire 6 or 7 days warning before the day her Majesty would embark, to take leave of this Court and to be on board 4 or 5 days before the Queen to prepare for her Majesty's reception. The which her Majesty said she would deliberate of and give me further notice.

8th. Tuesday. Waltham in his ketch came from Tangier and brought me letters from the Governor and others.

10th. Thursday. I had audience of the King and Queen Regent of Portugal and Queen of

England, and took my leave and went on board the *James* to prepare the fleet for her Majesty's embarkation. I was conducted by the Marquis of Gouvea in the King's coaches to the Court and from thence through the Terero de Paso and Ruo Nuevo to the Alcantara where the boats attended for me, and there I embarked and came on board the *James*.

This morning the Conde da Ponte came to me and said that I should have an answer from the Queen to my last paper and that 20,000 crowns should be at my order upon account of the last moiety, the which I desired for the supply of Sir John Lawson.

This morning the *Leopard* set sail for the East Indies with a Portugal Governor for Goa.

11th. Friday. In the morning I sent a letter to the Secretary of State for to procure the said 20,000 crowns and to receive the pleasure of the Queen for my future attendance. At night I had answer to have 10,000 crowns paid as soon as there was occasion and the other 10,000 when the fleet arrived there. And I was summoned to wait upon the Queen with my Train to the church on Sunday.

12th. Saturday. I received a letter from the Secretary of State by the command of the Queen of England in answer to my paper importing the security of the first million to be paid by Duarte de Silva and that I should not stand upon circumstances.

This afternoon Mr Myles came with Duarte de Silva and brought me a present from the King, a bag of gold of 1000 moidores.

13th. Sunday. About 10 oclock in the morning I went ashore at the Terero de Paso and there was met by Don Lucas, Master of the Ceremonies, and in the King's coach conducted to the Palace

where I met the King, Queen of England, Q. Regent and Dom Pedro the Infante coming out of the Presence Chamber. The Earls of Portugal walk with the King covered and in that respect the Q. of England commanded me to put on my hat, which I obeyed. The King etc went along together to the head of the stairs that descend into the court and the two Queens took leave with that decency and constancy that was admirable to see. After that the Q. of England went into her coach, next before which went the coach of respect empty, and then my coach and then the Nobles of Portugal according to their dignity. The streets of the city of Lisbon were all adorned with rich carpets and hangings at the windows and pageants made in their manner to demonstrate as much joy as could be ; and the regiments of train-bands and guards that were in the city drawn out. When the Queen came to the great cathedral church, we all alighted and went before her into the church, myself placed next before Dom Pedro, the King leading the Queen of England by the hand. When we came into the church near the door, the priests brought a Cross under a rich canopy supported by 6 priests, which the K., Q. and D.P^a. kissed kneeling upon cushions. When they came into the Choir, the King and Queen took their seat to hear Mass and the Conde da Ponte, now Marquis de Sande, and the Visconde de ——¹ and another Don went with me to a room purposely prepared for me to repose in until the Mass was celebrated. After Mass I came down to the Choir again and took my place before the Queen, and so we went into the coaches another way of the city to a new bridge built at the end of the King's yard purposely for the Queen

¹ Blank in MS.

to take water at, all hanged richly and floored with carpets, where the Queen descended and embarked with the King and Dom Pedro in the King's barge, and so went together aboard the Royal Charles, where as soon as they were entered the Henry (Sir John Mennes, Vice-Admiral) fired 61 guns, the James, Rear Admiral, 59 (Capt. Clerck commander) and all the rest of the fleet proportionally. After some hours discourse the King went ashore and I by the Queen's command went along with him. The ships all fired again, the Vice Admiral 41, the Rear Admiral 39 and the rest proportionally.

At night the ships showed out lights at every port-hole and in their tops and yards, and fired rockets and squibs, very handsome to see in the night-time.

14th. Monday. We weighed anchor about 10 oclock and fell down as far as the Alcantara. The King and Dom Pedro came on board us under sail and stayed until we came to an anchor and then went off. In the night about 12 oclock the King came incognito in a barge with his music, very good voices, and lay at the stern of our ship and gave the Queen music.

15th. Tuesday. By 6 oclock in the morning we weighed anchor again, the wind at N.W., and got out of the river to sea; as I passed by the Castles the Queen commanded me to loose the Standard, which was done.

As soon as we were out at sea the Queen and all the ladies were sea-sick.

Her Majesty commanded me to give the King a speedy account of her Majesty's setting forward, which I did, and wrote a packet for England presently.

This afternoon Capt. Utbird came on board and brought me news that the English fleet had

taken the Admiral of Algiers, and that the Levant Merchant and a man of war that was her convoy from Leghorn was in Tangier Bay bound for Lisbon. All this was brought by 2 French ships that came in the night to Lisbon having been out of Leghorn but 14 days and this was told Capt. Utbird by a merchant on board him, passenger for England, whose factor came early this morning from Lisbon to acquaint him with the arrival of these two French ships.

This evening we were between the Rock, N. and Cape Espichel, E., little wind and N.W.

The ships in my fleet as followeth :—

<i>Ad.</i> Royal Charles	Princess	Paul
<i>V.Ad.</i> Henry	Breda	Elias
<i>R.Ad.</i> Royal James	Dover	Dartmouth
York	Ruby	Colchester
Montagu	5 ketches	and 3 merchant-
Lion		men bound home
		in our company.

16th. Wednesday. Wind at East, a fresh gale. At noon we count ourselves 10 leagues from the Burlings, they bearing East from us.

17th. Thursday. At noon we had run from our last noon 16 leagues N.W.W.

18th. Friday. Wind at N.N.E. At noon we had run from our last 18 leagues W.N.W.

19th. Saturday. Wind at N.N.E., fresh gale. Having tacked to and again the last 24 hours at noon we were where we reckoned last noon.

20th. Sunday. Wind at N.N.E., fresh gale. We ran 8 leagues S.E. by E. from yesterday noon.

21st. Monday. Wind at N.N.E., fresh gale, but not so much wind as formerly. Sailed at noon from our last 12 leagues West and by North.

22nd. Tuesday. Wind at N.N.E., fresh gale.

Sailed from yesterday at noon to this noon 2 leagues West and by North.

This morning we met a merchant ship bound for the East Indies with my Lord of Marlborough and at noon the Convertine with Capt. Povey and soldiers for the East Indies also. They gave us for news that all was well in England.

23rd. Wednesday. Wind N.N.E. We ran 20 leagues N.W. by W. to this day noon from our last. Sir John Mennes came aboard in the morning.

24th. Thursday. Wind at N.N.E., little wind. We ran yesterday noon to this noon 12 leagues N.W.

Sir John Mennes came aboard ; informed me of men in the Elias that had broken up some sugar chests. I gave him order to call a Council of War and to try the men.

25th. Friday. Wind at S.S.W., little wind. From yesterday at noon we ran 7 leagues N.N.E.

26th. Saturday. Wind at S. by W. From last noon to this noon we ran N.N.E. 18 leagues. By my observation we were in the lat : of $41^{\circ} 24'$, by others $42^{\circ} 00'$.

I waited upon the Queen in the morning to know her pleasure concerning making the best of our way and sending Mr Mountagu before for England. The Conde da Ponte (to whose agreement with me the Queen referred herself) advised not to part company with the Paul and Elias. Mr Mountagu to go speedily.

This evening Mr Montagu went for England in the Princess with letters from the Queen. I wrote to the K., D., Ld. Ch. (to whom I enclosed a letter from the Queen) and Ld. Sand. At this time also I sent the packet prepared to be sent as soon as we came out of the river of Lisbon.

27th. Sunday. Wind at W. From last noon

to this we ran 34 leagues N.E. by N. We had a clear observation at noon. By my own observation we were in the latitude of $42^{\circ} 58'$. Others were more northerly, and he that was most northerly of all observed the latitude $43^{\circ} 38'$.

28th. Monday. Wind at N.W. From last noon to this we ran 36 leagues N.E. by N. We had an excellent observation today and most agreed in the same with me, the latitude to be $44^{\circ} 44'$. One or two others found it $45^{\circ} 10'$.

The Princess was yet in sight, 4 leagues of us, and 2 other ships 5 or 6 leagues off on our starboard side.

29th. Tuesday. Wind at S.S.W., fresh gale. We ran from yesterday noon to this 31 leagues N.E. by E., eastwardly. It was flying clouds at noon; no good observation, but our Captain observed $46^{\circ} 13'$.

30th. Wednesday. Wind at S.S.E. We ran from yesterday noon to this 53 leagues N.E. by N. We had an observation, cloudy. I found our latitude to be $49^{\circ} 00'$, the Captain $48^{\circ} 40'$. The Montagu struck ground at noon in 100 fathom. The Ruby at 2 oclock in 85 fathom. They account their latitude $48\frac{1}{2}$.

May 1st. Thursday. Wind at S.E. We ran 28 leagues N.E. by N. from last noon to this. We had an excellent observation, almost universally all the fleet agreeing us to be in the latitude of $49^{\circ} 49'$. Our sounding 67 fathom, white peppery sand.

We met a merchant come from the Straits, Leghorn. He touched at Toulon whence he parted 2 months since. Sir John Lawson was newly up from the careen. He says the French would not let him go in without he would strike his flag, which he refused to do, and so careened

without. The Crown came convoy with him along. He says also that the Nonsuch had taken the Vice Admiral of Algiers of 24 guns. He says he was at Alicante 6 weeks since, where he met Sir Richard Stayner ready to sail for the bay of Algiers. He arrived in Tangier Bay the 9th of April, where he found the Assurance and Swallow ketch and left company of the Crown, Capt. Beach, there, who brought 3 people down from Genoa, artists to build a mole. This merchant's name is Bargrave, come from Galipoli before he touched at Leghorn and Toulon.

We met also a small vessel come out of Dartmouth bound for Newfoundland, who says he came out of Dartmouth on Monday last. Says he saw Scilly yesterday at noon N. of him 4 leagues off. He says Scilly is 35 leagues from us E. by $N\frac{1}{2}N$.

This evening we all took an observation of the uppermost star of the Raven's wing, about $\frac{3}{4}$ past 8 at night, and it had of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Alt. } 24^{\circ} 30' \\ \text{Declin. S. } 15^{\circ} 37' \end{array} \right\}$ so the latitude is $49^{\circ} 53'$. Our sounding 77 fathom, oozy sand.

2nd. Friday. Wind little, yet that was Northerly. We ran from last noon to this 4 leagues S.E. by S., which I set off in the Duke of Northumberland's map¹ in the lat. of $49^{\circ} 43'$, long. $19^{\circ} 46'$.

At noon we had an observation, something hazy horizon. We observed the lat. $49^{\circ} 29'$. Others observed $49^{\circ} 49'$. At four oclock this morn we sounded, 49 fathom, small white sand.

¹ Sir Robert Dudley, styled Duke of Northumberland, published his great book, *Dell' Arcano del Mare*, at Florence in 1646. A chart of the English Channel appears at p. 59 of Book II.

An hour after 51 fathom, the same ground. At 8 oclock 74 fathom, oozy white ground. At one oclock p.m. 77 fathom, little or no sand. At 6 at night 74 fathom, whitish sand.

3rd. Saturday. Wind at N. by E. From last noon to this we ran 24 leagues E. S. which I set off the D. of N's map in the lat. $49^{\circ} 31'$ long. $21^{\circ} 34'$; which latitude agrees with those that observed by instruments this day, which I did not, because it was cloudy. We met a merchant ship to windward of us which was a ship of Hoorn in Holland, came from the Canaries, bound homeward. At 6 oclock this morning we sounded, 65 fathom, white peppery sand with things like needles.

4th. Sunday. Wind at E.N.E. At 8 in the morning we were 3 leagues off Scilly Islands, bearing N.W., fair in sight, and 7 leagues N.E. was the Land's End fair to be seen also. This morning we met divers ships, Hollanders and others, outward bound.

5th. Monday. Wind at E.N.E. At 12 oclock the Land's End bore N.E. by E. 8 leagues off and Scilly W. by N. 4 leagues. In the afternoon the wind came up N.E. I sent the King a packet.

6th. Tuesday. Wind at E.N.E., fresh gale. We turned up within 2 leagues of St. Michael's Mount, North from us about 7 oclock at night and there we came to an anchor.

7th. Wednesday. This morning Colonel St Albans came on board and brought the Queen a present of fresh provisions from St Michael's Mount. Wind still at E. and by N., fresh gale. I sent ashore a packet to the K., D., Ld. Ch., Ld. Chamb.

8th. Thursday. Wind at East, a very fresh gale. The fishermen of Penzance say that an

E.N.E. moon makes high water where we ride, but East South East the stream runs. We weighed anchor about 4 oclock in the afternoon and turned up within a league and $1\frac{1}{2}$ of Cape Lizard, where we stopped the ebb at an anchor.

At that time came in to us the Foresight with Capt. Allen, bound for Lisbon, convoy to 160 horse, Major Dungan commander, who was on board us. Capt. Lambert also in the Norwich came to us ; he is bound for Tangier, who told us that before he came out from Portsmouth news was come from Court that the Princess was arrived from the fleet. We heard from Penzance that the Princess arrived at Plymouth on Sunday last.

9th. Friday. Wind southwardly, very small gale. At noon we were got North off the Dodman, 5 leagues.

10th. Saturday. Little wind, northerly. We stopped a tide of ebb at anchor 5 leagues off the Start. Then we weighed again and had little wind but a great fog.

11th. Sunday. At noon we had Torbay W.N.W. of us, 6 leagues. Little wind at E.b.S. Very smooth water as ever I saw this last 3 days. At sunset his Royal Highness came on board us from his yacht and attending upon him the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Chesterfield, the Earl of Carlingford, Mr Coventry, Mr Brouncker, Mr May.

12th. Monday. Wind at S.E., little gale. In the morning his Royal H's came on board again. About noon we stopped the tide of ebb at an anchor, Portland bearing W.N.W. from us, 3 leagues off. The Duke of Ormond made the best of his way for Portsmouth and Sir John Douglas to go with a packet to the King.

13th. Tuesday. Wind westwardly. At noon

we were off Dunnose Point of the Isle of Wight, where Mr Mountagu and Mr Talbot came on board us. The Duke kept in his yacht upon the quarter of the Charles and every day came on board to visit the Queen. At night we came to an anchor off St Helen's Point.¹

14th. Wednesday. Wind Westerly. We weighed anchor and about 2 oclock in the afternoon came to an anchor off the Spit Head and about 4 oclock in the afternoon his Royal Highness took the Queen in the Anne yacht and sailed to the beach at Portsmouth next the Town gate and then Her Majesty went into the barge wherein she was brought ashore, the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Manchester attending on the shore side to receive her Majesty, who immediately upon landing went in her own coach, the Lords, the Portugal Ambassador and myself walking afoot before the coach, to the King's House in Portsmouth.

20th. Tuesday. About noon the King came to Portsmouth. The Queen kept her bed for a great cold.

21st. Wednesday. In the afternoon the King and Queen came into the presence chamber upon the throne and the contract formerly made with the Portugal Ambassador was read in English by Sir John Nicholas, in Portuguese by the Portugal Secretary, de Saire; after which the King took the Queen by the hand and (as I think) said the words of matrimony appointed in the common prayer, the Queen also declaring her consent. Then the Bishop of London stood forth and made the declaration of matrimony in the common prayer and did pronounce them man and wife in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

¹ MS. Ellins.

23rd. Friday. I came to the Wardrobe in London to my family, where I met a letter from Capt. Teddiman to Mr Sam Pepys, showing the news of Sir John Lawson's having made peace with Algiers, they agreeing not to search our ships.

25th. Sunday. The King at night first bedded the Queen.

29th. Thursday. About 9 oclock at night the King and Queen came to Hampton Court ; in the Great Hall at the screen waited the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer and many other of the nobility, and so went up before them into the presence chamber. The Lord Chancellor and Treasurer only kissed her Majesty's hand in the Hall.

Deo Gratias.

SECTION IV

THE SECOND DUTCH WAR
1664-1665

SECTION IV

The Second Dutch War, 1664–1665

1664.

July 18th. Monday.¹ In the morning I crossed the Thames at Lambeth. Went to the Archbishop to take my leave. About Southwark met the King, Duke of Ormond and Mr Secretary Bennett in the coach coming from Greenwich. And I lay that night at Rochester, where I went and viewed the ships.

19th. Tuesday. From Rochester I travelled to Canterbury and there lodged that night. Went to the Cathedral and viewed it diligently. In the coat of Cardinal Pole I found quartered the Arms of Mountagu and Mont Hermer.

¹ Sandwich had hoisted his flag in the London on June 20th. This part of the Journal begins on p. 215 of the MS. On p. 213 there are the following notes :

‘George and Eric Sjöblad, Swedish gentlemen, reformados in the Rear Admiral, Teddiman, in the Revenge.

‘Lord Rothes’ style in his order to Capt. Lightfoot :—

‘John Earl of Rothes, Lord Lesly and Banbrick, Lord Treasurer and his Majesty’s High Commissioner of his ancient Kingdom of Scotland.’

The list of the fleet here printed under July 20th appears on p. 214. Erik Sjöblad, mentioned above, became Captain in the Swedish Navy in 1666, Rear Admiral in 1674 and Admiral in 1676. In 1677 he was defeated by the Danes and taken prisoner.

20th. Wednesday. From Canterbury I went towards Deal. About Ash the commanders of the ships met me. At Sandwich port Captain Titus and the Mayor and assistants of Sandwich met me. I went to the Lion and received courtesy from the Mayor. Then near Sandwich Castle my boats lay ready and about one of the clock I boarded the London in the Downs. Sandown Castle gave me guns at going off, but neither ships nor any other castle spent powder at my request.

Fleet then in the Downs.

Admiral Squadron	Vice Ad. Squadron	Rear Ad. Squadron
London	Plymouth	Revenge
Gloucester	Dreadnought	Elizabeth
Happy Return	Crown	Hampshire
Dover	Breda	Pearl
Kent	Guernsey	Hector
Drake	Lily	
Nonsuch ketch		

21st. Thursday. Capt. Titus came and dined aboard me and went to London next day. This morning I sent Capt. Ferrers to the Hague with letters to Sir George Downing.

22nd. Friday. I had a Council of War. Agreed in case of our separation by weather our rendezvous to be St Helen's Road by the Isle of Wight for the westward. To the northward Sole Bay or Hosely Bay.

Agreed our Sailing and Fighting Instructions.

24th. Sunday. I sent the Lily to ride 4 leagues N.E. from the N. Foreland to bring advice when any fleet of men of war should sail by to the southward.

26th. Tuesday. In the afternoon I went to

Dover to meet the Commissioners of the Peace and to view the harbour at a low water, and came aboard again at night, when the Gift, Capt. Reynolds commander, arrived in the Downs, whose stay in the river so long I examined next morning.¹

27th. Wednesday. My birthday. I sent off the packet with Capt. Reynolds' examination to the Duke. This was a stormy wet day at W.S.W.

28th. Thursday. I dined aboard Vice Admiral Allen. The Loyal Merchant and Royal Katherine arrived in the Downs about 5 oclock P.M. from the East Indies. Brought news Poleroon² either was or would certainly be delivered to the English. Bombay³ kept from us only by the Jesuits' interest (who are proprietors of it). The other Portugueses, much agrieved we have it not for the honour of our Queen and their King, hate the Jesuits and the Governor for delaying it. These ships touched at St Helena only in their passage which was of 6 months.

I signed orders to the Kent and Hector to go convoy the African ships into the Soundings.

29th. Friday. Afternoon blew hard at N.N.W. Sir Nic. Crisp's man brought a certificate of our agreement of the Royal Company to pay him

¹ The letter from the Duke of York to Sandwich ordering an inquiry into the delay in the Gift's sailing is printed as Appendix V. Reynolds was still in command of the ship next year.

² Also known as Poleron, Puleroon, Pulo Run and Poloe Ron. The westernmost of the Banda Islands in the East Indies. Occupied by the English in 1616, but seized by the Dutch in 1619. Its return to England had been one of the conditions of Peace in 1654, but the local Dutch authorities had refused to comply. In 1667 the English claims were abandoned.

³ MS. Bombaine.

5 per cent. out of our dividends until £20,000 be paid for his interest in Africa. Which paper I signed, Prince Rupert, the Lord Chancellor and Sir George Carteret having already put to their hands.

30th. Saturday. About 2 oclock Capt. Ferrers came in my ketch from Holland with letters from Sir George Downing and a packet which I despatched away for London. In the evening I received a packet from his Rl. Highness commanding Capt. Moulton into the Hope and acquainting us with the Vice Admiral's designation for the Straits and the Crown also.

Sunday. } Stormy weather S.S.W.
Monday. }

August 2nd. Tuesday. A court martial for trying a man that his gun went off by accident and killed the Master's wife of the Revenge. Found not guilty of murder, but chance medly, and ordered to be whipped and discharged the fleet.

A packet received and dispatched this night. In the morning the Duke's yacht went by for the river with Madame de Comines the Ambassador's Lady received on board at Calais.

3rd. Wednesday. About noon Country's ketch sailed for Holland with my letters.

4th. Thursday. Between 8 and 9 in the morning we had in sight a most remarkable spout. The night before was wet and rainy, but about 7 oclock it held up and was clear. The wind was North and the spout began to be seen at the North Sands Head almost and so continued for half an hour, the wind driving it on the back of the Goodwin towards the South Sands Head half seas over, where it broke and vanished.

The appearance of it was upon the surface of the water as if in a round of some 50 yards

diameter the water did rise out of the sea with a white breach and tumbling itself furiously like black smoke out of the mouth of a furnace, and from this breach up to a black cloud that was over it was a pillar of water of some 5 or 10 yards diameter continued. At the last about the middle it separated and the one half shrinked itself upwards ; the other half in the shape of a cone with the sharp end downward, fell to the water.¹

Presently after the end of it we had a great thunder clap and from the N.W. very much rain for one hour and $\frac{1}{2}$.

5th. Friday. I went by land to the North Foreland and was treated by the Mayor of Sandwich and viewed the cut made for a harbour in the time of Ed. 6. At night I loosed my foretopsail to give notice of preparation for sailing. The Lily sailed for the Brill for My Lord Culpeper.

6th. Saturday. In the morning we had a Court Martial for trial of the Master's Mate of the Breda that had spoken very irreverent words of the Duke of York ; whom we disgraced and cashiered him the fleet ; and punished the Gunner in whose cabin they were drunk and spake the words.

Capt. Titus dined aboard me. I sent the Drake to Calais for the Count Grammont. Capt. Nixon in the Elizabeth sent in a pink laden with wool from Ireland that was going for Holland on the back of the Goodwin.

7th. Easterly wind, fair weather. The Vice Admiral went to London in my dogger.

8th. Monday. Capt. Titus came aboard in the morning and we went together to the North Sands Head (being very fair weather and the wind

¹ The *Journal* contains a series of drawings of this phenomenon—probably Sandwich's own work.

easterly) where we stayed upon the sand 3 or 4 hours and set the bearing of it ; and went ashore where I met the Duke's letter warranting my sailing.

9th. Tuesday. I dined ashore at Deal Castle with Capt. Titus.

Sealed there a writing of my brother Pickering's ¹ about sale of a lease in Oundle.

Despatched away Mr Creed for London.

And sailed with the fleet ; but the wind coming out at S.W. and blowing fresh, like to be foul weather, when I had almost spent the tide of ebb at the S. Foreland, I bore up for the Downs and took my old berth again.

10th. Wednesday. Capt. Pett came into the Downs in the Henrietta yacht, and Mr Wickenden and Mr Mason of Dover came on board and examined the Dutchmen of the wool ship upon oath.

11th. Thursday. Wind at S.W. and S.W. by S.—at S. in the morning—a storm, thick weather and rain. Rich. Mathews went aboard the wool ship and seized her for the King and with chalk made the broad arrow upon her mast.

12th. Friday. At 6 oclock at night the storm ended.

13th. Saturday. This morning Rich. Mathews and the master and others concerned in the wool ship were cited and accordingly went to Dover. This night blew a storm of wind and the Count Grammont and Col. John Russell from Calais in the Drake came to an anchor by me.

14th. Sunday. In the morning Col. Russell came on board me and dined with me and afterward went ashore at Deal for London. And the

¹ Sir George Pickering, who had married Sandwich's sister Eliza.

Count Grammont also landed at Deal bound for London.

15th. Monday. The last night came in the Lily with my Lord Culpeper's servants and goods from the Briel, having in the passage landed my Lord and his Lady in the bay of Alborough.

This morning came in a French vessel with wool sent by the Hampshire from Studland Bay (beyond Poole).

16th. Tuesday. Sir Nic. Strode, Governor of Dover, and his brother and Mr Pix came and dined with me and lay on board all night. A storm of wind all day long.

17th. Wednesday. After dinner Mr Wickenden came aboard and examined the Frenchman with wool, and Capt. Titus came aboard with Col. Stroud from Flanders.

18th. Thursday. In the morning set sail out of the Downs. Little wind in the morning and so drove with the tide of ebb into Dover road. In the afternoon an eastwardly gale sprang up fine and fresh and we made all the sail we could and at 7 at night we were up with the Ness.

Ships in company :—London, Revenge, Dreadnought, Dover, Kent, Elizabeth, Breda, Gloucester, Henrietta yacht.

At 4 oclock this afternoon I sent off the French and Dutch prizes to Dover and a packet for London.

19th. Friday. Having steered S.W. by W. and W.S.W. all night with a slack sail, viz. 2 top-sails low set. Wind at E.N.E., fair weather. This morning at 5 oclock we were N.W. & S.E. 3 leagues off Beachy, in 22 fathom. At 8 oclock it bore N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 4 or 5 leagues off, when we made what sail we could close hauled to try our sailing. We made our way S.E. 12 leagues at 4

in the afternoon, when we saw Treport S.E. by E. 3 leagues off and Dieppe S. & by W. 5 leagues off. The wind was all this day at E.N.E. and in the evening at N.E. and N.N.E., a fresh gale.

Large, the day before, the Dreadnought and Elizabeth sailed best, and the yacht Henrietta.

By, this day, the Dover and Breda and yacht sailed best. The Kent sailed worse than the London and the Elizabeth next worst. The Gloucester best of the 3rd-Rates and then the Rear Admiral and Dreadnought. The Dover was got ahead us in 4 hours near 3 leagues.

In the evening we stood about for the English coast, the wind N.N.E. fresh.

20th. Saturday. By 4 oclock in the morning we were within 3 leagues of Beachy, it bearing N. by W. About 8 oclock the Paradox and ketch came to me with packets from Holland. About 5 in the afternoon the Vice Admiral Allen with his convoy for the Straits met me and he came on board me. This evening I sent Pymm off express with a packet to London in the Henrietta yacht to put him ashore.

And now we are off the head of Beachy some 2 leagues. Very fair weather and almost calm all day.

21st. Sunday. Still plying at the head of Beachy. Wind northerly and eastwardly, fair weather.

22nd. Monday. At the head of Beachy, plying. In the morning 7 oclock the Pearl from Dieppe with Sir Sam. Morland and his Lady bound for Dover passed by our stern. Wind at N.E.

23rd. Tuesday. Plying 5 leagues to the S.W. off Beachy. Little wind at N. At noon we observed the sun and found our latitude $50^{\circ} 40'$, we being then 3 leagues thwart off Beachy.

24th. Wednesday. Fresh gale N. Plying up between Fairlight¹ and the Ness. About noon stopped the tide of ebb thwart off the Ness, where I went ashore at the light-house. With the flood we weighed and plyed up and at 9 at night under sail Sir Thomas Crewe and Captain Isham in the smack from London came on board us. At noon also the Pearl and Drake came to us.

25th. Thursday. In the morning at an anchor in Dover road. With the tide of flood we weighed and came to an anchor in the Downs about noon.

26th. Friday. Calm, easterly wind. At sunset we took the sun's magnetical amplitude which was $11^{\circ} 00'$ from W. towards the north, which calculated the true amplitude of the sun was $10^{\circ} 30'$, so that the needle seems to vary eastwardly $00^{\circ} 30'$.

27th. Saturday. I weighed anchor in the Downs and drove along the Channel in the night almost to the Ness Point. As I was loose the Anne yacht came to me and brought Mr Knight and Mr Pierce and their wives, who went to Dover ashore.

28th. Sunday. In the morning thwart off the Ness Point. The wind coming up at S.S.W., a greasy sky, we bore up for the Downs where we came to an anchor about 4 oclock in the afternoon.

29th. Monday. Wind S.S.E., lowering weather. This day the Anne yacht by order from Mr Coventry went over to Calais for Madam Fiennes.

September 2nd. Friday. Last night a storm at S.W. and W.N.W. In the afternoon came in the Hampshire and Hector who left Capt Reynolds in the Soundings 30 leagues S.W. from the Lizard

¹ MS. Fairelye.

August 22. Here came in from the Straits the Bendish and Prudent Mary.

3rd. Saturday. Afternoon the Pearl sailed for Dieppe with Sir Tho. Crewe, Sydney and Mr Herbert.

4th. Sunday. In the morning came in the Augustine with provisions for Portsmouth having spent her foremast and bowsprit¹ in the storms. She and the Kent and Crown all sailed away in the afternoon, and the ketch with Capt. Isham for the river. The wind eastwardly, cold weather.

5th. Monday. In the morning came in the Paradox from the Dutch fleet from Blankenberghe. Sir Tho. Peyton and the Mayor and others of Sandwich dined aboard. Wind N., a fine day.

6th. Tuesday. Afternoon came in the Guernsey from P' and Speedwell from the West Indies. The Anne yacht came by with passengers for the river. I was at the upper light-house and observed the bearings and distances expressed at the other end of this book.

7th. Wednesday. The Elizabeth sailed for Yarmouth. Capt Harman and Capt Seymour came, the first for Gloucester, the other for the Hector.

8th. Thursday. In the morning the Pearl came in from Dieppe with Sydney and Mr Herbert. In the evening I had a Council of War about answering Mr Coventry's letter dated the day before.

9th. Friday. Received his Highness's letter to sail for the Spit-head about 7 oclock in the evening.

10th. Saturday. At 2 oclock afternoon under sail with the fleet. At sunset off the Ness, where the Dover and Breda were despatched away for the buoy of the Nore.

¹ MS. boltsprit.

11th. Sunday. Rye thwart off us N.W. & by N. 4 leagues. I despatched the Hampshire, Guernsey and Paradox to cruise and wait the motion of the Dutch fleet. At noon, Rye bearing as above said, we stopped the flood at an anchor. We found the stream to run N.E. & by E. It began to ebb at $1\frac{1}{4}$ after 2 oclock. Capt. Herbert came aboard thwart of Rye.

12th. Monday. At 4 oclock afternoon anchored off the Isle of Wight, the white cliffs called Swan-Cliff a league off N.W. $41^{\circ} 40'$, Dunnose due West or N.W. $88^{\circ} 00'$.

This noon was exactly the equinox and we saw the sun set and observed him [with] the azimuth compass, by which the sun set about one degree to northward of the west. Therefore the variation of the compass should be $1^{\circ} 00'$ westwardly.

The tide of ebb ran E.N.E. northerly. We made one sit at the top-masthead, and when the body of the sun was quite immersed from us on the quarter deck he on the top-masthead saw it for one minute of time longer.

13th. Tuesday. We weighed with the flood and stood in thwart of Bembridge point bearing N.E. b. E.S.W. by W. 4 miles. The Swallow went in before us to the Spit-head, from Tangier a month, my Lady Teviott in her. In the afternoon I went ashore at St Helens and observed bearings in the other end of the book.

Ships in my company:—London, Revenge, Gloucester, Dreadnought, Nonsuch ketch.

14th. Wednesday. 10 oclock in the morning came to anchor at the Spit-head. Sir Philip Honywood dined aboard me.

15th. Thursday.	} Took physic.
16th. Friday.	

17th. Saturday. At 4 oclock afternoon the Hector arrived from the Downs.

20th. Tuesday. The Gloucester sailed to Plymouth. The Hector to Capt. Batts and the Drake to Weymouth.

21st. Wednesday. I sent men from all our ships to help to rig in the harbour, and I went in the pleasure-boat to the Dock and Harbour and made observations at Southsea and Gilkicker as are in the other end of the book.

22nd. Thursday. Sir Philip Honywood dined aboard and other gentlemen. I sent the pleasure-boat to Southampton to bring over my Lord Culpeper and his Lady to the Isle of Wight.

24th. Saturday. The Kent arrived from Plymouth with prestmen. I sailed in Norwood to Southampton and saw the town. Landed also at Calshot Castle and took the bearings in the other end of the book.

25th. Sunday. Blew hard at N.W. and rained.

26th. Monday. Went ashore to Titchfield (my Lord Treasurer's house). His stables have 20 stalls for horses at 6 foot in breadth each stall. Above the rack up to the hay loft is ceiled so that the hay drops down without any dust falling on the horses. They say the Great Park is 5 mile about it, so it contains 1272 acres, and they say thay have 1400 deer in it. The lesser park they say is 3 miles about.

27th. Tuesday. A storm of wind at N.W.

28th. Wednesday. Dined at Southwick with Mr Norton.

29th. Thursday. Turned in the Charlotte to Cowes Castle.

30th. Friday. Went ashore at St Helens Point and dined at Mr Bunckly's. My Lord Piercy at the same time was aboard my ship at

the Spit-head. I made the observations with the compass at the other end of the book. This evening the Drake came in from Weymouth.

October 1st. Saturday. My Lord Piercy and Mr Vernon dined aboard me. The Drake went back again for Studland Bay and the ketch with the 50 men brought by the Drake for the Hope.

3rd. Monday. My Lord Culpeper and his brother and Capt Culpeper and Mr Dillington of the Island came and dined aboard and lodged there, the weather being bad.

4th. Tuesday. My Lord Culpeper went into the Island and Capt Herbert and Sydney with him. I took a vomit of oximel squills.

5th. Wednesday. The Swallow sailed for Hurst Castle. At night Mr Creed came from London.

8th. Saturday. Capt Herbert and Sydney came home from the Isle of Wight in the Charlotte.

10th. Monday. At 7 oclock at night Sir John Lawson in the Resolution and Capt. Berkeley in the Bristol came to an anchor with us and came aboard. The Drake also came in from Weymouth and the Swallow from Hurst Castle, the Lily being come into his station the day before.

12th. Wednesday. In the evening went from the Dock with Mr Norton to Southwick and then observed at the windmill as follows at the other end of the book.

13th. Thursday. Received commands to go to London with Sir Jo. Lawson, which is prepared for.

14th. Friday. At Guildford.

15th. Saturday. At London. This evening Prince Rupert's fleet arrived at the Spit-head, 16 sail.

16th. Sunday. The Swallow set sail for Plymouth.

21st. Friday. The Hector arrived at Spit-head.

23rd. Sunday. The Gloucester and King Ferdinando arrived at Spit-head.

28th. Friday. The Mary set sail for Plymouth. The day before I came out from Whitehall and lay at Guildford and this night lay at Havant.

29th. Saturday. Before noon I was at the dock at Portsmouth. In the evening I went aboard the Prince's ship and after to my own.

31st. Monday. The Prince came aboard my ship. The Lily sailed for Weymouth.

November 1st. Tuesday. Mr Jermin, Mr Howard, Mr Bromage and Mr Worden dined aboard me and in the afternoon Mr Jermin went ashore at Portsmouth bound for London.

2nd. Wednesday. I waited on the Prince in the Harbour and in the afternoon the Newcastle, Yarmouth and Monck sailed out of the harbour to the Spit-head. In the evening I was ashore at the Point that makes Portsea Island and observed what is in the other end of the book.

4th. Friday. The Lizard came in and brought 150 prestmen besides her own company. The Captain (Hyde) removed into the Sapphire.

5th. Saturday. } Blew hard westwardly.
6th. Sunday. }

7th. Monday. Came in the Adventure frigate.

8th. Tuesday. I went ashore to the Isle of Wight and at Titchfield Haven also and made the observations at the other end of the book. This day also the Montagu, Fairfax and Bristol came out of the harbour and rode at the Spit-head. And the Lily came in from the westward. My Lord Culpeper lay aboard my ship this night.

9th. Wednesday. His Royal Highness came to Portsmouth. Lord Culpeper on board this night also.

10th. Thursday. The Swiftsure and Lion went out of the harbour.

11th. Friday. His Royal Highness went aboard the fleet into the Henrietta, London, Swiftsure and returned again ashore. At night divided the fleet into squadrons.

24th. Thursday. His Royal Highness embarked in the Swiftsure.

25th. Friday. His Royal Highness removed into the Royal Charles who came in with 15 sail the night before.

27th. Sunday. The whole fleet set sail with the wind at N.E., a hard gale. The fleet consisted of 41 sail of ships, men of war.

28th. Monday. At evening we saw Cape Hague and Alderney S.S.W. from us 5 or 6 leagues from us. Cruising all night.

29th. Tuesday. At break of day Alderney was S.W. by S. from us 6 leagues.

December 1st. Thursday. Anchored off Dun-nose with my squadron only (the Prince and Duke being got to an anchor at St Helens the night before).

2nd. Friday. Anchored at St Helen's road near the Isle of Wight.

3rd. Saturday. Sailed up and anchored in Stokes Bay with the whole fleet.

4th. Sunday. The Duke and Prince went for London.

7th. Wednesday. Capt. Smith observed the Blazing Star from Cauda Leonis— $39^{\circ} 20'$, Spica Virginis— $25^{\circ} 34'$, Arcturus— $56^{\circ} 40'$, being then near the head of Corvus, $1/4$ before 4 oclock in the morning.

10th. Saturday. Afternoon I weighed out of Stokes Bay and came to an anchor off Gilkicker Point for more conveniency.

11th. Sunday. This morning came in the Expedition from Guinea, lost company of Major Holmes in the Chops of the Channel.

About 5 oclock this morning I saw the Blazing Star in the Hydra below the Tropic, S.S.W. about $10^{\circ} 00'$ high, which I saw 2 or 3 days before also. Concerning which more hereafter.¹

14th. Wednesday. Sir George Ayscue and Sir Jo. Lawson went to London in my coach.

17th. Saturday. Capt Spragg and his squadron set sail for Beachy from St Helens Road. This morning about 3 oclock I saw the Blazing Star again in the main topsail of the Argo Navis, distant from the Great Dog— $29^{\circ} 35'$, the Scorpion's Heart— $26^{\circ} 00'$. The body of the star was dusky, not plain to see his figure or dimensions, but seemed 4 or 5 times bigger than the Great Dog, of a more red colour than Mars. The tail of him streamed in the fashion of a birchen besom towards the Little Dog the one half of the distance between them. Capt. Teddiman coming from the Canaries said he saw the star there and the first time it appeared was about October 20th.²

18th. Sunday. Rear Admiral Teddiman and his squadron came into the Road.

19th. Tuesday.³ Sir William Berkeley sailed out with his squadron.

21st. Wednesday. Capt Herbert and Sydney went for Chichester by land. Capt. Holmes from

¹ This comet, known simply as 'the comet of 1664,' was discovered in Spain on Nov. 7th–17th, 1664. Its perihelion passage was on Nov. 24th–Dec. 4th. It was last observed on March 10th–20th, 1664–5.

² See previous note.

³ *Sic* in MS.

Guinea and Capt Stokes came into the Road in the Triumph.

23rd. Friday. About 6 at night or 5 minutes sooner I saw the Blazing Star again between the Whale's Mouth and the River Eridanus, but his stream could not be seen because the full moon shone bright. Observed him then from Aldebaran— $24^{\circ} 03'$, Whale's Mouth— $14^{\circ} 00'$, Head of Eridanus— $23^{\circ} 00'$, from Orion's left shoulder— $27^{\circ} 10'$. Cooper observed his Meridian Altitude about 8 oclock at night, $34^{\circ} 40'$. In the Meridian Cooper found him from the Head of Eridanus— $23^{\circ} 10'$, from Orion's Shoulder— $27^{\circ} 18'$, Aldebaran— $23^{\circ} 40'$, Whale's Mouth— $13^{\circ} 15'$. At 12 oclock from Caput Eridani— $24^{\circ} 00'$, Orion's Shoulder— $27^{\circ} 40'$, Whale's Mouth— $12^{\circ} 12'$, Aldebaran— $23^{\circ} 35'$.

24th. Saturday. After sunset I saw the Blazing Star again in the Whale's Mouth (being in Stokes Bay by Portsmouth, where I have rid all this while) and observed his distance—from Aldebaran— $24^{\circ} 26'$, Head of Eridanus— $28^{\circ} 12'$, Whale's Mouth— $8^{\circ} 00'$. The stream of his light like a brush besom stretched out towards Orion's Head above $10^{\circ} 00'$ in length. The Little Dog was just even with the horizon at the time of my observation.

26th. Monday. The Royal Oak was launched at Portsmouth Dock about noon. When she swam she drew, ahead 12 ft, astern $14 \cdot 33$ ft.

28th. Wednesday. Mr Pickering and Mr Creed came hither on board. In the evening I saw the Blazing Star again in the Eye of the Whale, Cor Leonis being about 7 degrees high. He was then distant from Upper Horn of Aries— $18^{\circ} 33'$, Aldebaran— $30^{\circ} 28'$, Pleiades— $23^{\circ} 37'$, Os Baleni— $5^{\circ} 53'$, 2d. Star in Ore Baleni— $3^{\circ} 50'$. His stream of light was almost right upon the

Bull's Eye, $12^{\circ} 00'$ towards it, reaching unto 2 small stars that stand close together at that distance from the Comet. Methought this night he looked of as pale a colour as any of the other stars.

29th. Thursday. I saw the Blazing Star a little above the Whale's eye, having Right Ascension $33^{\circ} 00'$, Declination North $6^{\circ} 30'$. The stream was towards the Bull's eye, but neither star nor stream seemed so large as formerly. This was about $\frac{1}{4}$ after 6 oclock. At 8 distant from Os Baleni $8^{\circ} 05'$, from the 3rd star in Ore Baleni $8^{\circ} 05'$.

This night Sir William Berkeley and his squadron came into the road.

30th. Friday. I saw the Blazing Star in the head of the whale, distant from Os Baleni $9^{\circ} 43'$, from 3rd star in Ore Baleni $9^{\circ} 13'$, about 6 oclock at night. His stream was yet weaker than formerly, directed to a small star right above Os Baleni about 8 degrees from the comet.

31st. Saturday. I weighed anchor in Stokes Bay and sailed to St Helens Road and there came to an anchor with the fleet, about 20 sail. About $\frac{3}{4}$ past 10 at night I saw the Blazing Star in the upper part of the Whale's head, having of Right Ascension $30^{\circ} 40'$ Declination $8^{\circ} 10'$.

1664/5

January 1st. Sunday. Vice Admiral Myngs his squadron sailed from St Helens Road. About $\frac{1}{4}$ after 6 at night the Blazing Star was distant from Os Baleni $12^{\circ} 35'$, from 3rd star in Ore Baleni $11^{\circ} 30'$. His stream and body too was yet diminished, the stream being directed towards the Bull's Nose, about 6° in length.

2nd. Monday. I saw the Blazing Star again and about 6 oclock at night observed him distant from Os Baleni $13^{\circ} 43'$, 3rd star in Ore Baleni $12^{\circ} 25'$, Upper horn of Aries $12^{\circ} 17'$. His stream and body was like unto the last appearance or rather weaker.

3rd. Tuesday. In the afternoon Mr Pickering went off the ship to Portsmouth bound for London. About 6 oclock in the evening I saw the Blazing Star in the left leg of Aries, distant from Os Baleni $14^{\circ} 34'$ Star in Ligatura Piscium $9^{\circ} 17'$. His stream was directly towards the Bull's eye, about $6^{\circ} 00'$, both it and his body weak of light, growing hard to be discerned.

4th. Wednesday. I saw the Blazing Star again about 6 oclock in the evening, being a little below the ecliptic to the southwards almost touching it in the 29th degree of Aries. Then distant from Os Baleni $15^{\circ} 26'$, Star in Ligatura Piscium $9^{\circ} 58'$. His body weak of light and confused, and his stream not much to be discerned, little better than a star of the 2nd magnitude.

5th. Thursday. I saw the Blazing Star about 6 oclock in the evening, being then just in the ecliptic in the $28^{\circ} 30'$ thereof, very dim, not better to be discerned than a star of the 3rd magnitude, distant from the South Horn of Aries $8^{\circ} 46'$, a star in Ligatura Piscium of $6^{\circ} 00'$ declination North $8^{\circ} 46'$. Scarce any stream discernable.

7th. Saturday. By the observation of one of the mates the Blazing Star was distant from Os Baleni $17^{\circ} 38'$, Aldebaran $37^{\circ} 00'$.

8th. Sunday. I saw the Blazing Star about $\frac{1}{4}$ after 6 at night in the breast of Aries, distant from Lower Horn of Aries $7^{\circ} 08'$, Star in Ligatura Piscium of 6° declination N. $7^{\circ} 23'$. His stream directed a little under the Pleiades, but it was very

faint and short, and his body of as little appearance as before, if not less.

9th. Monday. I saw the Blazing Star in the breast of Aries, grown yet less discernable and his stream also, distant from Lower Horn of Aries $6^{\circ} 45'$, Star last observed in Ligatura Piscium $6^{\circ} 35'$.

This day Vice Admiral Myngs and his squadron came in to me, and the Pearl with Sir Ed. Seymour.

10th. Tuesday. The weather was something hazy and windy, yet about 8 o'clock at night I saw the Blazing Star very small and no stream discernable, not altered from whence I saw it last (as I could judge by my eye).

11th. Wednesday. I weighed anchor in St Helens Road and came to an anchor again off Gilkicker (by Portsmouth). About 6 o'clock at night I observed the Blazing Star in the breast of Aries distant from Aries upper horn $9^{\circ} 23'$, Aries lower horn $6^{\circ} 5'$, Star in Ligatura Piscium of $6^{\circ} 00'$ decl. N. $6^{\circ} 3'$, the Moon $28^{\circ} 5'$.

12th. Thursday. About $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7 at night I saw the Blazing Star so near his place the night before that I could not point him (in a small globe) beside it. He was to sight of the same condition with that star in Ligatura Piscium that I last observed him from. By my cross-staff distant from Aries upper horn $9^{\circ} 18'$, Star in Ligatura Piscium of 6° decl. N. $5^{\circ} 58'$, Star in the Bull's back $18^{\circ} 20'$, Star in the point of the Triangle $15^{\circ} 37'$, the Moon $16^{\circ} 05'$. No stream discernable.

15th. Sunday. About 8 at night the Blazing Star observed by one of the mates, distant from South point Trianguli $14^{\circ} 12'$, Whale's Mouth $20^{\circ} 30'$, South Wing of Pegasus $23^{\circ} 30'$. No stream discernable and the star itself as dim as one of the 4th magnitude.

16th. Monday. By Cooper's observation the Blazing Star was at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 distant from Os Baleni $20^{\circ} 50'$, South Point Trianguli $14^{\circ} 00'$. His body appearing scarce enough to be observed. The Moon was then distant from Left Shoulder of Orion $15^{\circ} 00'$, Bright Star in Castor's foot $27^{\circ} 40'$. About 5 oclock I saw the Moon within a third of her own diameter to the eastward of Aldebaran and I judged that the very centre of the moon had passed under the star.

19th. Thursday. Arrived the Dunkirk and Ruby.

20th. Friday. A Council of War and Court Martial. This night the Blazing Star could not at all be discerned, the Moon shone bright.

21st. Saturday. A little before 5 in the morning the Moon began to be eclipsed, obscured afterwards about 5 digits, and cleared again about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 6. Cooper observed at the eclipse's beginning the Moon and Lion's Heart $14^{\circ} 15'$, Castor $27^{\circ} 50'$; at the middle the Moon and Lion's Heart $13^{\circ} 50'$, Star in Lion's Nose $10^{\circ} 48'$, Star in Lion's Neck $15^{\circ} 52'$; at the end the Moon and Lion's Heart $13^{\circ} 10'$. Daylight hindered more.

22nd. Sunday. Wind N.W. In the evening weighed anchor bound for the Downs. At sunset up with Bembridge Point, which shut in with Swan Cliff S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. Dunnose opened before S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. a point.

Ships in company; my Squadron, London, Montagu, Dreadnought, Revenge, Princess, Assurance, Pearl, Gift. Sir William Berkeley's, Resolution, Gloucester, Henrietta, Foresight, Sapphire, Guernsey, Portland, Forester.

This morning came into the Spit-head from the westward the York and East India Merchant, and

as we went out by Bembridge Point we found the Bristol at anchor, come in also from the westward.

23rd. Monday. At 12 oclock, noon, Beachy bore N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues off us. Wind at N.E. I called the 2 Rear Admirals on board and upon advice together concluded to keep the sea and not bear up to Portsmouth. The wind fresh at E.N.E. about 10 in the morning.

24th. Tuesday. Wind E. and E. & by N. Plyed up as far as between the Ness and Fairlight and at sunset lay adrift with a main course. In the morning 27 sail was discovered to windward which proved only French fishermen and one English merchantman from Malaga.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 6 at night I thought (with my eye) I saw the Blazing Star in the $25^{\circ} 00'$ of Aries, 5° North declination from the Ecliptic. I scarce perceptible¹ as a star of the 6th magnitude. About 6 oclock (I think) I saw Mercury 7 or 8 degrees above Mars, then just setting.

25th. Wednesday. A hard gale of wind at East. We plied all day with a pair of courses thwart off Beachy. In the morning as we tacked to stand in for the shore we saw Sir William Berkeley bear up and haul up his sails and his squadron gather about him. After $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour some of the frigates set sail and plied with us to windward. What Sir William and those with him did, we could see no more.

26th. Thursday. It continued blowing hard until midnight, we trying into the offing with a main course. Then the wind came up at S.S.W. a fresh gale. We tacked and got as high as Dover Road when it was stark calm, and there we came to an anchor at sunset.

¹ *Sic* in MS.

27th. Friday. 3 oclock in the afternoon anchored in the Downs. Sir Arnold Braeme and his son and Capt. Jacob from Dover dined aboard with me.

28th. Saturday. Came into the Downs the Assurance and Eagle from Harwich.

About 6 oclock in the evening Monsieur du Tell came aboard, being newly arrived at Dover from Calais whither he came by land from Sluys, and was on Wednesday at dinner aboard a Dutch ship of above 40 pieces of ordnance riding at the Rammekens by Flushing. And says that the captain (by name Shercole¹) told him they were going to sea with 8 sail from Rammekens and to take Bankert in their company with 4 sail at the Wielings² and so to go into the Downs, to attack what they found there (but says there was then no advice of any fleet from Portsmouth coming this way). He saw them under sail out of the Wielings on Thursday about 10 oclock out of sight steering N.N.W. He says they designed to be in the Downs on Sunday morning. There be at the Rammekens more 9 sail whose men are taken out to man those gone abroad, at Ter Veere 3, at Zierikzee 1, for the Guard at Goeree 4. There be 7 great ships at Hellevoetsluis to be fitting against spring. And at Rotterdam 8 to fit against spring. And at Rammekens 2 and at Ter Veere one fitting against spring.

I consulted the commanders in his presence, who all agreed (viz. Teddiman, Fenn, Gilpin, Harman, Poole) that we should not weigh but be ready as we can. The wind N.E.

29th. Sunday. At noon Mons. du Tell went away for London.

¹ Possibly Kerkhoven in the Wapen van Rotterdam 42.

² The channels leading to Flushing from the south-west.

31st. Tuesday. About 9 in the morning Sir Wm. Berkeley in the Resolution and the Henrietta arrived here from Portsmouth.

February 1st. Wednesday. Wind at E. & by S. and E.S.E. Weighed anchor in the Downs with these ships viz. London, Revenge, Dreadnought, Montagu, Assurance, Adventure, Princess, Resolution, Gloucester, Henrietta, Portland, Sapphire, Foresight, Pearl, Eagle, Guernsey, Gift. [*Note to last two: 'sailed before to the N. Foreland.'*]

At sunset we were 2 leagues and better off the North Foreland it bearing from us W.S.W. or S.W. by W. and came to an anchor in 12 fathom. Under sail off the North Foreland came unto us the Swallow, Diamond, Nightingale, Mermaid.

2nd. Thursday. Wind at E. and at noon N.E., showers of snow, uncertain weather and extreme cold. We weighed our anchors and dropped them again in Margate road, 8 fathom.

3rd. Friday. Wind shuffling round the compass, cold weather and snow. A Council of War called on board.

4th. Saturday. Wind E.N.E. a hard gale and a chopping sea. The 3-5th rate frigates came in out of the sea having discovered nothing at all.

5th. Sunday. Wind E.N.E. a fresh gale.

6th. Monday. This morning I removed myself out of the London into the Revenge. Little wind till the evening. Then a gale at S.S.E. The fleet sailed to accompany the London and Montagu to the Longsands head. We all came to an anchor some 5 leagues N.E. eastwardly from the North Foreland. At midnight the wind southernd and blew hard.

7th. Tuesday. Tuesday wind at South, a storm until evening, snow, rain and very cold, then mild weather. All the ships were forced to

drop another anchor and some of them drove notwithstanding.

8th. Wednesday. Wind at South west. Early in the morning we saw the London and Montagu sail past the Knock and then by advice of a Council of War sailed with the fleet towards the Downs. About noon the Guernsey came to me with letters from Margate.

Another Council of War, and resolved to sail according to the proposition in Mr Coventry's letter. Executed accordingly.

9th. Thursday. The wind at west. In the morning in the fairway between Yarmouth sands and Flushing, turning to and again to get Sould Bay. About 2 oclock in the afternoon the Mermaid, ahead of us a league and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the westward of us on our weather bow, ran over the Galloper in 17 foot water. We had 17, 16 and 15 fathom. Tacked and stood for the North Foreland. We could make but a S. by West way and at sunset had run by judgment about 8 leagues and we thought we saw the North Foreland W. & by S. 7 leagues off. [*Marginal note*: but it was at least 11 leagues off S.W.] Came then to an anchor in 25 fathom sandy ground. The flood ran there to the east north east and the flood is done at a S.W. moon, and the Rear Admiral Teddiman says it is a $\frac{1}{2}$ tide and half $\frac{1}{4}$ tide.

I spoke with Capt. King (of the Mermaid) and he says he thinks it must be the Galloper sand that he went over, but says he never met with like soundings. He had 15, 14 fathom, then 5 fathom, over it 15 fathom again (standing N.W.). Then, tacking to give me notice, he came over again in 17 foot when it was $\frac{3}{4}$ flood, so that upon a low water there was not above 7 foot water, which seems strange to all of us.

10th. Friday. Weighed anchor about 10 oclock, course N. by E. Before 12 we had the shoaling¹ of 16 fathom, about 3 oclock 10 fathom. 4 oclock we came into 18 and 21 fathom and in 20 fathom came to an anchor. Wind a hard gale at S.W. & by S. A S.S.E. moon made full sea, but it ran flood south. The Rear Admiral accounts the ship to be W. $\frac{1}{2}$ southerly from Orfordness about 9 leagues off. The stream of the tide ran N.E. by N. and S.W. by S. We ran this day from our last anchoring to our anchoring this evening N. by E. 7.5 leagues. This day the Dutch fleet are reported to be gone in again to Flushing.

11th. Saturday. Wind at W.S.W. fresh but little sea. Thick sleety weather, not cold. At noon S.W. cold and fresh. At 2 oclock in the afternoon weighed and anchored again in Southwold² Bay in the evening. We ran this day W.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ northerly, 7.5 leagues.

In Southwold Bay a S.S.E. moon makes high water. It runs whole tide. The stream of the tide sets S.S.W. and N.N.E.

12th. Sunday. Wind at West, shuffling a point or two on either hand, gently blowing and cloudy, at night small sleet.

13th. Monday. Weighed anchor in Southwold Bay, the town bearing from us N.W. by W. 2 leagues. Wind E.N.E.

N.E. At eleven in the morning our anchor was up and we drove to the southward until 12 (hoisting in our boats etc.).

N.E. by E. From 12 to four sailed S.E., 6 leagues.

¹ MS. shoulding.

² MS. here and elsewhere—Sould. Usually the bay is called Sole Bay and the town Southwold. For the sake of uniformity it has been printed as Southwold in both cases.

N.N.E. From 4 to 6 sailed E. by S., 2 leagues.
Then hauled up our foresail and tried with a main course.

N.N.E. From 6 to 8 tried E. by S., 1.5 leagues.

N.N.W. From 8 to 12 tried E. by S., 3 leagues.

N.W. So that at 12 this night we were from Southwold E.S.E., 14 leagues: Dirty weather all this day and night.

About 4 oclock in the afternoon we met with a Hollands galliot packet boat from the Brielle sailing towards Harwich. There were 5 merchants that came overland from Danzig in her, one of them, Mr Freeman, came on board me with the skipper; told us little news save that Banckert was out with 12 or 13 sail of ships upon some great design, but kept exceeding private amongst them; and that there are great wars again in Poland.

14th. Tuesday. At the last midnight we tacked to the southward.

Wind at N.W. by W. from 12 to 4 (in the morning).

Tried S.W. by S., 3 leagues.

Then set our foresail.

W. — from 4 to 8 sailed S.S.W., 5 leagues

W. — from 8 to 12 sailed S. by W., 5 leagues

So that this day at noon we reckon ourselves, from Southwold—S.S.E., 19 leagues. From the North Foreland W. by S., 8 leagues.

From 12 to 5 close hauled {W. by S.—8 leagues}
{N.N.W.—6 leagues}

We reckon ourselves then from the North Foreland, S.W.—9 leagues, at which time we came out of 20 and 18 instantly to 12, 10 and 9 fathom.

Suspecting ourselves near sands we chopped to an anchor in 12 fathom and sent our boats to sound, who found in several spots 9 fathom, but the water deepening every way from them to 15 and 18 fathom.

15th. Wednesday. About 3 oclock in the morning it blew a storm of wind, sometimes sleet and hail, wind N. & by E., and was a great sea, and so continued all day and night. One of the frigates spent her bowsprit, foremast and main topmast.

16th. Thursday. The wind N.W., fresh gale, blowing weather, snow and sleet. Towards evening milder and the sea something down, when the Fairfax sent her boat aboard me with letters from Mr Coventry of the 8 and 11th instant with one of the 11th inclosed from the Duke. It seems the Fairfax and Newcastle came out of the Downs to seek me and saw our fleet on Tuesday in the evening and came in and anchored amongst us, which by reason of stormy weather I discerned not until now.

17th. Friday. Wind at North & by west, a fine gale, only very cold and much snow. By 9 or 10 oclock in the morning I got under sail with the fleet and about 4 oclock afternoon came to an anchor in the Downs.

18th. Saturday. A fine sunshine day, little wind at North and N.W., but cold. This day about noon Colonel Bellasis came on board me with a letter from my Lord Bellasis with reference to his transportation to Tangier.

21st. Tuesday. I prepared to go for London and intended to go ashore. Lodged that night at Mr Culver's at Deal, and the next day.

23rd. Thursday. Took coach for London. Dined at Canterbury, lay at Rochester.

24th. Friday. Went aboard the Prince at Chatham. In the evening at London.

[*Note added.*] Whilst I stayed at London the ship London coming out of Chatham river to fit in the Hope turning to windward a little to the westward of the buoy of the Nore was miserably blown up and 300 men in her, not above 12 saved in the round house and after part of the ship. She belonged to Sir Jo. Lawson.

March 23rd. Thursday. The King, Duke and Duchess went down to the Hope aboard my ship the Prince. The Duke sailed on in his yacht towards the Gunfleet where the fleet rode at anchor. I came out of London about noon in my coach to Gravesend and lodged aboard the Prince.

1665.

26th. Sunday. 3 in the afternoon sailed out of the Hope with the Prince and Unicorn; anchored in the evening 2 leagues short of Shoe Beacon.

This night a comet was seen to rise about the N.E. and was about E. when day broke.

27th. Monday. In the morning weighed anchor and sailed to the Gunfleet sand where we found riding at an anchor his Royal Highness and Prince Rupert and about 50 sail of men of war.

28th. Tuesday. Cooper gave me an account of the Blazing Star as followeth.¹

At $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour past 3 in the morning bearing N.E. & by E.	distant from	{	A star in Cas-	
			siopea of 58°	
			declination	$45^{\circ} 00'$
			Dolphin's tail	
			of declination	
			8°	$40^{\circ} 00'$
	altitude			$13^{\circ} 12'$

¹ This second comet, 'the comet of 1665,' was discovered at Aix on March 17th-27th, 1664-5. Its perihelion passage was on April 24th.

There was another star to the N.W. of the comet of the 3rd magnitude, distant from it about $9^{\circ} 00'$. The body of the comet more united and clear than formerly. The stream tending to the south west about 10° in length, about 4° whereof next the body of the comet is strong and vigorous, the outmost part weak. Capt Cox aboard the Charles observed the comet near the east to be $20^{\circ} 10'$ high.

This night Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Henry Felton, that came from the shore to see the fleet, lay on board this ship.

29th. Wednesday. This night Mr Charles North and Sir William Springe (from the shore) lay here also and went off next day after dinner in Norwood's smack.

31st. Friday. Copper observed the Blazing Star at 3 oclock in the morning. Distant from a bright star in Cassiopea of declination $58^{\circ} 38' 05''$, from the eastmost star in the Rombus of the Dolphin— $42^{\circ} 30'$, from the star in the Dolphin's Tail, ut ante— $47^{\circ} 00'$, from a star in Paegasus— $14^{\circ} 05'$. His altitude $13^{\circ} 50'$. Bearing E.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.

April 1st. Saturday. Cooper observed the Blazing Star. Distant from the former Star in Cassiopea— $36^{\circ} 35'$, the former star in the Dolphin's Head— $46^{\circ} 15'$, the former star in Pegasus— $12^{\circ} 22'$. His altitude $13^{\circ} 08'$. Bearing E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.

2nd. Sunday. About $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 2 oclock in the morning I saw a Blazing Star above the Horizon, distant from Andromeda's Head— $4^{\circ} 50'$, Andromeda's Girdle— $12^{\circ} 05'$. His stream pointed upwards just on the inside of Andromeda's head and was a strong light a little above that star; it was to be discerned faintly about 15° upwards

from the body of it ; it was not so bushy towards the further end as the stream of the other late blazing star. The body of this star was not so great to appearance as the other but of a more compacted body and clearer light, about the bigness of Mars and of like red colour.

4th. Tuesday. In the morning passed by us towards London the collier fleet of above 60 sail.

6th. Thursday. Was held in the afternoon the first Court Martial aboard the Royal Charles, His Royal Highness, Prince Rupert and myself present ; where Lieutenant Mansell was accused by his Captain, Hannam (of the Rainbow) of disobedience, unruliness and reproachful language to him and to Major Smith also, taunting them with their having been rebels and served under Cromwell's commission ; for which offences he was adjudged to be cashiered from his employment in the fleet.

His Royal Highness very graciously was pleased to express the King's Majesty's and his own displeasure against any recounting of former differences and parties. Said that all of the commanders were equally esteemed good subjects and officers and he doubted not but they would so approve themselves in all occasions, and he would severely reprehend any expressions of past divisions.

7th. Friday. The fleet having still remained in this place, viz. about a league and a half thwart off the northern buoy of the Gunfleet sand (in sight of Harwich), and by the accession of our convoys of the collier fleet and some out of the river and the Downs now gotten to be more considerable, I suppose near 60 sail together, we are preparing to water and complete our victualling with all haste, to be ready for pursuing the counsels that shall shortly be taken.

In this place it is convenient to take a view of the King's whole fleet and the posture of it, which is as followeth, viz :

Gunfleet the 7th April 1665.

How the Fleet for the Channel-guard is put into Squadrons.

Wherein

His Rⁿ Highness bears the Standard, and his Sub-admirals a Red flag.

Prince Rupert the Union Flag, and his Sub-admirals a White flag.

Earl of Sandwich and his Sub-admirals have a Blue flag.

His Royal Highness's Squadron.

Rate		Men	Guns	
1st	A. Royal Charles	550	78	Sir William Penn
2nd	B. Royal Oak	450	76	Sir J. Lawson, V.Ad.
	„ C. Swiftsure	380	60	Sir W. Berkeley, R.Ad.
	„ Old James	380	68	Earl of Marlborough
	„ St George	360	60	Joseph Jordan
3rd	Fairfax	300	58	Robert Salmon
	„ Mary	300	58	Jeremy Smith
	„ Gloucester	280	58	Robert Clarke
	„ Plymouth	280	56	Thomas Allen
4th	Leopard	240	54	Richard Beach
	„ Bristol	200	48	John Hart
	„ Happy Return	190	50	James Lambert
	„ Yarmouth	190	52	Thomas Ayliffe
	„ Diamond	180	46	John Golding
	„ Antelope	180	46	[John Chichley] ¹
	„ Dover	170	46	Jeffery Pearse
	„ Bonaventure	160	40	Arthur Laughorne
	„ Sapphire	160	38	Henry Hyde
	„ Amity	150	36	John Parker
	„ Guinea	150	36	John Abelson
	„ Convertine	180	48	John Pearse

¹ Names in brackets supplied by comparing other lists with Pepys's list of officers.

Rate		Men	Guns	
5th	Success	155	30	Edward Grove
„	Fountain		30	John Bapt. du Tiel
„	Mermaid	145	28	John King
„	Norwich	135	24	John Wetwang
„	Coventry	125	22	William Hill
6th	Drake	85	12	Richard Poole
„	Martin	65	14	Samuel Tittle ²
„	Little Mary	75	12	Abraham Blackleeche
Merchant Ships hired, and are often 4th-Rate	Royal Exchange	220	46	Giles Shelley
	Coast Frigate	150	34	William Lawson
	Loyal George	190	42	John Earle
	George	180	40	Robert Tubb
	Satisfaction			[William Godfrey]
	Blackamoor			[John Barton]
	Eagle			Thomas Hendra
	King Ferdinand			[Francis] Johnson
	Fame	45		John Gethings
	Bramble	35		Nepth. Bull
Fire-ships	Roe Ketch	55	8	
Ketches, Hoys and Smacks	Eaglet Ketch			
	St George			
	Batchelor			
	Isabella			
	Hopew. Margaret			
	Seaflower Ketch			
	Edw. and Eve			

Prince Rupert's Squadron.

Rate		Men	Guns	
1st	A. Royal James	500	78	John Kempthorn
2nd	B. Triumph	380	66	Chris. Myngs, V.Ad.
„	C. Resolution	290	58	[Robert] Sansum, R.Ad.
„	c St Andrew	360	60	Valentine Pyne
3rd	a Henrietta	300	58	Walter Wood
„	c Anne	280	58	Arnold Brown
„	a Revenge	280	58	[Robert Holmes]
„	b Monk	260	54	Thomas Penrose
„	b Lion	260	52	Edward Spragg
4th	b Newcastle	200	48	Thomas Page
„	a Mary Rose	190	48	William Reeves

² William Tickle in Pepysian list and Tickle in Dutch list.

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	Rate		Men	Guns	
	4th c	Kent	180	46	Thomas Ewens
	„ a	Portland	180	46	John Aylett
	„ b	Ruby	180	46	William Jennings
	„ c	Advice	170	40	William Poole
	„ a	Reserve	170	46	John Hayward
	„ a	Assurance	150	32	John Jefferies
	„ b	Expedition	140	30	Tobias Sackler
	„ c	Bear	170	42	John Waterworth
	5th c	Milford	155	28	John Seale
	„ b	Colchester	145	28	Daniel Helling
	2nd a	Rainbow	320	56	Willo. Hannam
	5th a	Guardland	145	28	Charles Talbot
	„ c	Speedwell	135	26	John Lightfoot
	„ b	Hector	125	22	John Cuttle
	6th b	Paradox	85	14	Leonard Guy
	„ c	Truelove			
	„ a	Merlin			
Merchant Ship hired and all after 4th Rate.	c	East India Merchant	180	44	John Willgresse
	a	Bendish	180	42	Robert Taylor
	b	Return			[John Hubbard]
	a	Exchange	170	36	Sam. Wentworth
	b	John and Katherine	120	32	John Whatley
	c	Constant Katherine			[Francis Sanders]
	b	Katherine			
Fire- ship	a	Dolphin	45		
Ketches, Hoys and Smacks		Hind Ketch	55	8	John Withers
		Sea Venture			
		James Ketch			
		Desire Smack			
		Little Sampson			
		William and Mary			

Earl of Sandwich his Squadron.

	Rate		Men	Guns	
	1st A.	Prince		86	Roger Cuttance
	2nd B.	Henry	430	70	Sir G. Ayscue, V.Ad.
	„ C.	Royal Katherine	450	70	Tho. Teddiman, R.Ad.
	„ b	Unicorn	320	56	Henry Teddiman
	3rd a	Montagu	300	58	Henry Fenne
	„ b	York	280	58	John Swanley
	„ c	Dreadnought	280	58	[Henry Terne]

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	Rate		Men	Guns			
Merchant Ships hired, and are of the 4th Rate	3rd	c	Essex	260	52	Richard Utbar	
		a	Dunkirk	260	54	[John Hayward]	
	4th	b	Princess	220	52	George Swanley	
		b	Jersey	190	48	Hugh Hide	
		a	Centurion	180	46	Robert Moulton	
		a	Swallow	180	46	Richard Hodges	
		a	Breda	180	46	Robert Kirby	
		b	Assistance	170	40	Zachary Brown	
		a	Dragon	160	38	John Lloyd	
		b	Hampshire	160	40	George Batts	
		c	Adventure	150	36	Benjamin Young	
		b	Providence	140	30	John Tyrwhit	
		c	Marmaduke	150	38		
	5th	b	Guernsey	145	28	Humphrey Connisby	
		c	Forrester	145	28	Edward Cotterell	
		a	Pembroke	145	28	Thomas Darcy	
		a	Oxford	135	24	Phillip Bacon	
		c	Paul	125	28	Peter Foot	
		b	Lizard	105	20	John Andrews	
	6th	a	Little Gift	85	16	John Johnson	
		c	Blackamoor	65	14	John Barton	
	Merchant Ships hired, and are of the 4th Rate	{	a	Good Hope	130	34	Anthony Archer
			b	Hambro' Merchant	170	36	James Cadman
a			John and Thomas			[Henry Dawes]	
b			Castle Frigate	160	36	Philip Euatt	
c			Society			Ralph Lashells	
{		c	Golden Phoenix				
		c	Maryland			Abraham Ansley	
		a	Bryar		41	Richard Cotton	
		a	Nonsuch Ketch		8	Robert Crossman	
		b	Thomas and Rebecca				
Ketches, Hoys and Smacks	{	a	Hopewell Smack				
			John Smack				
			John Hoy				
		Two Sisters					

Also of the rest of [his] Ma^{ties} ships and others employed in his service :

2nd	Vanguard	320	56	Jonas Poole	
4th	Foresight	170	46	Packington Brooks	Tangier
	„ Elizabeth	160	38	Edward Nixon	„
	„ Charity	170	46		

4th	Mathias	190	50	John Hubbard	
„	Portsmouth	160	38		
„	Crown	170	46	Charles Wager	Straits
„	Tiger	160	38	Phineas Pett	
5th	Eagle	135	26	John Stansby	Tangier
„	Pearl	135	24	Hugh Seymour	Ireland
„	Nightingale	145	28	Richard Long	„
„	Richmond	135	22	Thomas Knevitt	„
„	Dartmouth	145	28	Richard Rooth	„
„	Sorlings	165	32	John Waltham	
„	Greyhound	125	22	Richard Country	
„	Great Gift	100	30	Jacob Reynolds	Guinea
„	Westergate	120	30	Samuel Tittsell	Jamaica
Merchant ships hired	Maderas				
	Barbadoes Merchant			Heath	
	Loyal Merchant	210	44	Robert Sanders	
	John and Margaret	150		John Chappell	St Helena
	William	130		William Basse	„ „
	Prudent Mary				
6th	Little Francis			Robert Turner	
„	Lily	55	6	Amos Bear	
„	Hawk	38	8	Richard Earlsman	
„	Giles	30	4	Stephen Certain	
„	Swallow	16	6	Robert Ensome	Jamaica
„	Harp	35	6	Samuel Sheerland	Ireland
„	Chestnut	16	10	John Stephens	East India
	hoy			Edward Bond	
	Ships in Harbour upon Ordinary.				
	Rates				
	1	Sovereign	Chatham		
	2	Victory	„		
	4	Constant	Warwick	Portsmouth	
	5	Happy	Entrance	„	
	6	Fox		„	
	5	Hound	Woolwich		
	6	Cygnets	1	Deptford	

10th. Monday. In the morning Rear Admiral Teddiman in the Katherine Royal came in to the fleet out of the river. This morning also came my Lord Falmouth with Monsieur du Miers from the

¹ MS. Signett.

French Ambassador to compliment the Duke. Supped aboard the George with the Duke of Buckingham who also arrived that day with the fleet.

12th. Wednesday. The Duke of Buckingham being on board the Charles, and a Council of War being held in the afternoon, whereunto he was not called, (as I have heard) he expostulated it with the Duke that he ought to be admitted as being a Privy Councillor, and also for his Quality sake, the Duke of Monmouth being always present in Councils of War; but the Duke telling him he could not do it without the King's order, the Duke of Buckingham went up that day to London to receive the King's pleasure. The Council of War consisted of all the 9 Flags, the Earl of Marlborough (because captain of a ship by commission) and the Duke of Monmouth always present. But the Earl of Peterborough, Earl of Ogle, nor any other that was no officer was admitted.

15th. Saturday. Cooper gave me an account of several observations of the Blazing Star as followeth.

April 3rd. Distant from the 3 bright star in Cassiopea, ut supra, $34^{\circ} 00'$, Dolphin's head, viz. the 1st in the Rombus, $53^{\circ} 22'$. Bearing N.E.

April 4th. Distant from Dolphin's head $55^{\circ} 30'$ Swan's Tail (by guess) $50^{\circ} 50'$. The former star in Cassiopea $33^{\circ} 10'$. In Pegasus' neck $21^{\circ} 50'$. Altitude 12° Bearing N.E. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.

April 5th. From Pegasus' neck $24^{\circ} 53'$. The former star of Cassiopea $33^{\circ} 05'$. Andromeda's head $10^{\circ} 10'$. Altitude $9^{\circ} 20'$ N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.

April 6th. From Pegasus' neck $27^{\circ} 55'$. Andromeda's head $13^{\circ} 30'$. Cassiopea's breast $33^{\circ} 10'$. Perseus' right side (brightest star) $34^{\circ} 08'$. Altitude $7^{\circ} 00'$ N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.
 April 8th. From Andromeda's head $18^{\circ} 38'$. Perseus' right side $31^{\circ} 25'$. Andromeda's foot $16^{\circ} 30'$.

This day came in to the fleet the Mermaid with a prize small privateer of Holland of 49 men. And the Diamond and Yarmouth with another prize of 32 guns of Holland privateers, and another of 16 guns. Capt. Golding, captain of the Diamond, was killed in the fight.

17th. Monday. My Lord Falmouth arrived aboard the Duke from London, and Mr Talbot, Mr Edward Mountagu also the Master of the Horse to the Queen and my Lord Castlemaine came to the fleet on Friday or Saturday ; Mr Mo. lodges in the Swiftsure, Lo. Cast. in the Revenge.

There are other Noblemen in the fleet ; the Duke of Buckingham in the St George, Earl of Peterborough in the Unicorn, Earl of Ogle (son, the eldest and only, of the Duke of Newcastle) in the Rainbow, the Duke of Monmouth (with his Royal Highness) in the Charles, Earl of Marlborough in the Old James.

This afternoon the Council of War was called aboard the Charles and the Duke communicated a letter from the King with intelligence that on the 4th of April a fleet of 40 sail of Holland-built ships (4 whereof carried lights in the night) were seen (by a Virginia-man that came through them in the night and arrived at Limerick) in the latitude of 52 some 40 leagues off the Dorses of Ireland, the wind northerly and they plying it up. These are upon the circumstances supposed to be

the Dutch Smyrna fleet that stopped at Cadiz all the winter, and possibly de Ruyter also.

The King is desirous the fleet should sail and endeavour to attrap them as they come about the north of Scotland.

The Council of War the day before finding the fleet likely to be generally provided to take the sea, had begun the debate of weighing anchor and sailing. Sir John Lawson objected the necessity of the fleet's returning to some road on our own coast within 6 weeks to re-water, and that if the fleet should sail before the Texel and the Hollander keep in until our water was spent, when we should return to recruit ourselves, they would have a fair opportunity to come out and guard home their trade, or perhaps have an advantage to attempt upon us on our own coast and put us to distress, being unfurnished with water; and therefore seemed to think it were best to keep our own fleet together fully supplied and fresh, free from all injuries that sailing and keeping the sea ordinarily procures, until we hear that the Dutch are out, and then go to them.

The ground of this opinion was agreed to by all, but my own advice was that the Duke should sail to their coast with all convenient speed, it being of reputation both at home and abroad; by that means also we might attrap any of their ships that might be coming home by the back of Scotland; the Dutch also might be provoked to come to sea quickly, which was the most desirable thing we could have; and I did advise we should return to our own coast to recruit our water before it was too near expended, that any hindrance therein might not be greatly to our damage. This was generally liked.

Prince Rupert did propose the fleet's riding off

Goeree at an anchor and sending out parties of 10 ships each to the Wielings and also to the Texel to watch their motions (for the Dutch lay about 100 sail at the Texel and some 40 in the Wielings) and so we should prevent their conjunction, and as we had notice of the sallying of either of them we might attack them separately.

But of this we are to consider after we are sailed, as the weather and intelligence shall guide us. It was concluded that the Admiral's top-sail should be presently loosed to hasten the fitting our ships and if the wind served on Thursday to weigh anchor.

I saw a copy of the Instructions of the States General to their Admiral, which is as followeth.

Instructions of the H.M. Lords States General of the United Netherlands for Jacob van Wassenaer, Lieut. Admiral of Holland and West Friesland, appointed to be commander in chief over the fleet of this Land which is now putting to sea against the English, as also for the other officers, commanders and captains of the said fleet.

In the first place the respective Colleges of the Admiralty, together with the general E. India Company, according to the contract made between the State and them, and in pursuance of their H.M.'s distinct resolution, shall bring to sea with all convenient speed those ships ordained there by, and to be victualled for three months.

2. Over which fleet (when ready) the said Lord of Wassenaer shall have the chief command and the same to be provisionally divided into seven squadrons which are respectively to be commanded, vizt. One by the said Lord of Wassenaer, one by Jan Evertsen Lieut. Admiral of Zealand, one by Lieut. Admiral Kortenaer, one

by the Vice Admiral Tromp, one by the Vice Admiral Cornelis Evertsen, one by the vice Admiral Schram and one by Capt. Stellingwerf, under such quality and degree as is already, or shall hereafter be given him.

Which said Commander in chief, as also the other Head Officers, Commanders and Captains of the said fleet are to act generally in the opposing and destroying of the English at Water or at Land, wherever they can meet with them.

4. The said Chief Commander or other Head Officers and Captains are to take care that the said ships be provided with three months victuals after the time they are put to sea, and that all which they shall consume whilst within the land, that the same shall be from time to time supplied again.

5. They are also to take care that the men aboard the ships of war of this Land be well dieted, and that their ships be well provided with water, that so there may be no complaint made of that kind, or the men discouraged upon pain of arbitrary punishment of those that shall be found wanting herein.

6. That no Officer or Captain of the said ships which do lie ready to set sail shall lie ashore anight, nor be from aboard in the day time upon pain of arbitrary punishment.

7. The said men which are aboard the ships aforesaid, the Mariners as well as the Land Soldiers, shall every day exercise themselves in their arms, that so they may become more expert and fit for service.

8. That all shallops are to be aboard the respective ships before sunset and that after sunset none shall be suffered to go from aboard of one ship to the other, and that when the Head

Officers and Captains shall wine together, that they shall avoid all manner of excess of drink, and that when they shall be at sea they shall not invite one another aboard upon pain of being corrected by the Chief Commander, and his Council of War, according to the exigence of the Case, which Council of war is to consist of the Head Officers, Vice Admirals and Rear Admirals of all the Squadrons.

9. That also there may be no waste or mispence made of the Land's powder, they shall not salute each other with their Guns (except only what shall be done from aboard the Commander in Chief) upon what pretence soever, upon pain of forfeiting 25 guilders for the first time, the second time double, and the third time to be absolutely dismissed from their Commands and Employment.

10. That also the Under Officers', nor any Mariners' wives shall be suffered to be aboard above 3 days, but that after that time they may be put ashore, and not permitted to come aboard any more.

11. That likewise no sutlers with strong drink, nor any others, shall be suffered to come aboard, that so the Mariners may not be tempted to spend their moneys and pawn their clothes, in order whereunto no manner of boat shall be suffered or permitted to come or go from aboard the ships of the fleet without being first visited.

12. That none whosoever shall give leave to any of the men, to come up to any Town without the leave of the Commander in Chief, to which end all the boats shall be watched, and likewise the boats visited that do come from aboard any the ships of the fleet.

13. That they shall encourage their men daily with minding them of the Rewards they are to

expect, if that they shall behave themselves valiantly against the enemy, and on the contrary to threaten them with what punishment they are to expect, if that they do otherwise, according to the publication made thereof by their H.M. the 10th of March last, whereof the Captains shall have copies sent them to paste up aboard their several ships, and to cause the same to be read often to their ship's company.'

14. And to the end that there may be the better notice taken of the behaviour and endeavour of all Captains, the Rear Admirals of the respective squadrons are to observe the deportment of every of them in the pursuance of the orders made and appointed for each squadron. And because there may be exact notice taken thereof the Judge Advocate of the Fleet assisted with one or two skilful and discreet persons go aboard of a galiot and stand off at a small distance from the Fleet and observe and take a strict regard of the action and behaviour of every the Captain, and to make report thereof accordingly. And in order hereunto he shall have a copy given him of the Instructions for the said Head Officers and Captains. And that the Commander in Chief shall over and above appoint some other fit person to have a strict eye upon the whole fleet, as well as upon all particular ships.

15. That they shall also take good care that the sick and wounded aboard the Land's fleet be well treated and looked after, to which end every Captain is to provide himself with as many large and clean old sheets as he doth carry guns aboard his ship, whereof he may not fail, for which they shall also have allowance given them, for so much as shall be made use of them in the service of the Land.

16. That they shall have also good and able Chirurgeons, and that their chests be from time to time visited by the Doctor and Chirurgeon General of the fleet as occasion shall serve, whether the same be well furnished.

17. And to prevent all manner of inconveniences and disasters that may befall the ships of the fleet, they are to take care that they do ride at a good distance from each other in the roads, as also when they are under sail not to come too near, upon pain of being called to an account for the same by the Council of War, or else if upon the roads by the Admiralty Court under which they do resort, and to be by them punished according to the merit of the case.

18. That in the evening all the shallops belonging to the Land's ships shall be hoisted up by their boards and the oars taken out of them.

19. That also they shall not put out their Ensigns, except in fair weather, and that they are to observe the Commander in Chief herein.

20. That also they shall not be too hasty in firing at the enemy, but to stay until they be come up close to them, that so their shot may take effect and destroy the same, upon pain of arbitrary punishment to be inflicted upon those that shall do the contrary.

21. The Lord Wassenaer and others of the Head Officers are to draw up and give orders for the chasing and attacking the enemy, either by laying aboard or entering or otherwise. Which said Boarding and Entering is most seriously recommended to them and the respective Captains, and if in case it shall happen that any of the enemy's ships shall come to be taken, that then he that hath taken the same shall with the approbation of the Commander in Chief send the

prize and her men to the port of the Admiralty which he belongs to, and the same to be judged by that Court, or otherwise if that there should be occasion that the said Commander in Chief shall think fit to send the said prize to some other port, that yet in such case the Judicature and disposing thereof shall remain by the College under whom he that took the said prize doth resort. And if it should happen that such prizes should be in danger of being retaken again, that then he that commands her seeing no probability of saving of her shall shift for himself with his men in the boat, and then either sink or fire the same, that so she may not come again to the hands of the enemy.

22. That meeting with any ship of war belonging to any Kings, Princes, Potentates or Republics that are in Alliance or be Neuters with this State, that they shall behave themselves courteously and friendly towards them, but yet withall that they shall not admit of anything that may tend to the undervaluing or prejudice of this State.

23. That all Captains are to keep themselves to the squadron under which they shall be ordered and appointed, and to observe duly their orders which they shall receive from their head officers and not desert them upon any occasion whatsoever, nor be wanting to put forth their utmost endeavour upon pain of capital punishment without any favour or mercy.

24. That if in case it should happen any of the ships of the said Head Officers, Vice Admirals or Rear Admirals should be so battered in the encounter that she is not more capable of doing service or to follow the train, that then it shall be free for such Head Officer to go aboard of any ship under his squadron which he shall think fit, and

which is to receive him with all due respect and obey his commands.

25. All officers and Captains shall take good notice of the carriage and behaviour of their ship's company, and shall punish such as are wilful and do not obey, whereof they are not to fail upon pain of being called to an account to answer for the same.

26. Finally the said Commander in Chief and other Head Officers shall have power amongst themselves to resolve and conclude in other matters, which may present itself [*sic*] and that are not set down here, as they shall see cause, and for the best of the Land, and as they may answer the same at their return, according to which all Captains are to govern themselves as if it were set down in these Instructions.

Resolved at the Assembly of the said H.M. Lords States General, In the Hague, the 18th of April 1665.

19th. Wednesday. His Royal Highness and Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth and Duke of Buckingham dined on board the Prince with me.

I saw a list of the Dutch fleet, which followeth.¹

Nederlandsche Schepen

Uyt de Maes ²

Admiral Opdam	De Eendracht	74	450
Lt. Adm. Cortenaer	Groot Hollandia	66	325
S.b.N. de Liefde	Kleyn Hollandia	54	240
Capt. Kleydyck	Dordrecht	44	200

¹ This list is printed as written in the MS. It has been compared with the list of the end of May and with that of the losses in the next battle in the *Leven van C. Tromp*, and the variations—apart from mere differences in spelling—have been noted.

² From the Maas (Rotterdam).

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Oudaart	Stadt Utrecht	44	200
De Klerch ¹	Prins Maurits	50	230
Kerckhove	Rotterdam	50	230
Hemskerck	De Liefde ²	40	180
Van der Cam	Gorcum	34	150
Corstiaen Eldersz ³	Utrecht	38	180
Solderwagen	Schiedam	34	125
Nydeck	Briell	20	100
Boshuyse	Delft	32	130
Jacob de Wit ⁴	Zwol	20	80
Wm. Boudewynsz	Een Brander ⁵		
Jan van Brackel	Een Brander		
Wynberge	Een Advys-jacht ⁶		
Winthont ⁷	Een Advys-jacht		

Van Amsterdam

Cornelius Tromp	't Schip de Liefde	70	340
Schey	Oosterwyck	60	260
Van der Hulst	Amsterdam	60	240
Jan van Campen ⁸	Luyper	58	250
Allerd Mathysz	Hilversion	58	250
De Graef	't Slot Titverdryf	58	250
Jan Adriaensz Swart ⁹	't Huys te Gruningen ¹⁰	58	250
Van Amstell	De Vryheyd	55	250
De Haen	Stad en Omlanden	56	240
Gillis Thysz Campen	Coeverden	56	240
Verschuer	't Zuyder Huys	50	20 ¹¹
Trelon	Gouda	50	230
Soskins ¹²	De Vrede	50	230
Toll	Duyvenvort	48	220
Hogenhoeck	Vereenigde Provincien	48	220
Fabritius	Jaersvelt	48	240
Uytenhout ¹³	De Lantman	48	220
De Marre	De Wakende Boey	48	220

¹ Jakob Symonsz de Wit.

² De Vrede.

³ Christian Elbertsz, but Eldersz in August list.

⁴ Pieter Wynbergen.

⁵ A fireship.

⁶ A despatch-yacht.

⁷ Probably the name of the vessel.

⁸ Kommer Gerritsz.

⁹ Jakob Swart.

¹⁰ Kruiningen.

¹¹ Probably a mistake for 230.

¹² Hendrik Gotskens.

¹³ Hugo van Nieuwhof, but Uittenhout in August list.

Adelaer	Raethuis van Haerlem	48	220
Marevelt	Stavoren	48	220
Broeder	Dom van Utrecht	48	220
Pieter Salomonsz	Campen	48	220
Van Reden	De Tromp	46	210
De Vries	Doesburgh	46	210
Jacob Wiltschut	Harderwick	46	210
Pieter Utteholt	Groeningen	46	210
Nieuwenhoof ¹	Der Goes	44	200
Pieter Salomonsz ²	De Verguild Son	44	200
Adam van Brederode	't Wapen van Haerlem	44	200
Lieve Jansz Hasevelt	De Harderen	34	180
Jacob Pitys	Fesant	38	180
Cornelius Jooste Smient	De Schager Roos	38	180
Van der Voorden	Zeelandia	38	180
Jan Blankenburgh	Overissell	36	160
Codde van der Burgh	Ylst	36	160
- - - ³	Zutphen	36	160
Wolff	De Star	36	160
Jan van der Mars	Maegt van Enkhousen	36	160
Comer Gerritsz ⁴	Asperren	36	160
Adriaen Bowman	Den groten Harder	34	150
Burger	't Wapen van Edam ⁵	34	150
Heyn Brouwer	De kleynen Harder	30	130
Hals	't Wapen van Leyden	26	120
Heynd Akro ⁶	Vollenhoven	23	130
Abraham Brackel	Eenhoorn	24	100 ⁷
Gerret de Palaen	De Braeck	18	80
Willem van Bergen	De Winthont	18	80 ⁷
Laurents Bruyn	De Fortuyn	18	80
4 Branders, op elck 40 man ⁸			
16 Advys Jachten			

Zeeland

Jan Evertsz, Adm. van					
Zeeland	-	-	-	- ⁹	60 230 ¹⁰

¹ Gerbrand Boes.² H. van Vollenhoven.³ Bisschop.⁴ Adriaan van Veen.⁵ De Bul. This is another name for the same ship.⁶ Hendrik Hankroy, but Akro in August list.⁷ Not included in the May list.⁸ On board of each 40 men.⁹ 't Hof van Zeeland.¹⁰ Probably a mistake for 320.

Cornelis Evertsz, de			
Jonge	- - - - ¹	50	240
Adriaen Banckert	't Schip der Veer	50	230
Adriaen de Haes	Dort	44	200
Twynman	Zeelant ²	44	200
Symon Block	Westchappell	40	180
Marinus Loncke	- - - -		
Jan Tysz ³	- - - -		
Adriaen Tysz	Jonge Prins	20	100 ³
Willem Marinisz	Zee-Ridder	32	140
Jacob Pensz	Middelburgh	44	200
Jan Maryniz ⁴	Schakerloo	30	130
Lempe Koe ⁵	- - - -		
Cornelis Evertsz	- - - - ⁶		
Kruyningen	't Schip Tergoes	34	150
Kuyper	- - - - ⁷	30	120
2 Brandiers Pynassen			

Van 't Noorder Quartier

Bruynick ⁸	West Vriesland	60	290
Slord	Joshua	60	295
Berckhout	Princess Royal	40	180
Victol	Eenhorn	32	160
Schram	Goude Leeuw ⁹	60	295
Bebberen	Hollantse Tuyn	56	290
Huysman	Jupiter	45	200
Staghouwer	De Munick ¹⁰	30	130
Hen ¹¹	De Jonge Prins	30	160
Halfhorn ¹²	't fregat Hoorn	32	140
Bronser	Drie Helden Davids	56	290

¹ Utrecht.² 't Wapen van Zeeland. Symon Blok is given as commanding the Zelandia and Marines Lonke the Westkappel. However, in the August list the Westkappel is under Symon Blok.³ Not included in the May list.⁴ Jan Krynsz.⁵ Not included in the May list.⁶ Vlissingen.⁷ Swanenburg.⁸ Bruinvis.⁹ 't Wapen van Nassau. Probably another name for the same ship.¹⁰ Not included. See note 1 to p. 192.¹¹, ¹² These two names should be interchanged.

Hoythuyn	't Wapen van Medemblik	56	290
Boos	Castle van Medemblik	30	140
Boer	Gilderlant	60	290
Goes ¹	d'Eendracht	52	285
Meppelen	't Norder Quartier	60	360 ²
't Hoen	Caleb	44	240 ³
Pompe	De Roode Leeuw	44	240 ⁴
Raepe	De St Paul of Enchusen	44	205 ⁵

Vriesland

Stellingwerf, Adm.	Sewen wolden	54	300
Corn. Allertsz, V.Ad. ⁶	Omlandia	48	234
Bruynsvelt, S.b.N.	Albertina	48	250
Allart Piers de Boer	Oostergo	62	300
Jan Viselaer	Westergo	54	250
Coenders	Gruningen	44	230
Kanter	Stad en Landen	48	235
Tierck Hiddes	De Steden	48	235
Wytse Beyma	Frisia	40	200

Commandeurs ⁷

Beern Hiddes	Postellion	40	200
Joost Michiellsz	Hollandia	44	230
Klunt	St Pieter	40	200
Jo. Hessells Wierisma	Kattepol (een Brander)		
Sturwe Sandt	(Brandaris)		

Noch een Brander ⁸

Van de Oostindische Compagnie

Wegens de Kamer van Amsterdam. ⁹

- - - - ¹⁰	Maerseveen	78	400
- - - - ¹¹	't Huys te Swieten	66	300

¹ Staghouver. See note 10 to p. 191.² In Ruyter's fleet. See Brandt, *Leven van de Ruiter*, p. 274.³ See note 2.⁴ See note 2.⁵ Added to the list in Sandwich's writing with the note : 'Set out by the East India Company.'⁶ Cornelis All. Oostrum.⁷ Probably merely a repetition of the original heading.⁸ Another fireship.⁹ Of the East India Company, by the Chamber of Amsterdam.¹⁰ J. de Reus.¹¹ De Rechter.

- - - - 1	De Beurs van Amster-		
	dam	52	240
- - - - 2	Carolus Quintus	52	240
- - - - 3	Mars	50	230
- - - - 4	De Ruyter van Gelder-		
	lant	46	240
- - - - 5	De Hollandsche Tuyn	40	190
- - - - 6	De Hoop	40	190
- - - - 7	St Anne	28	136
- - - - 8	De Ruyter	18	80
Van de Kamer van Zeeland			
- - - - 9	Oranje	75	450
- - - -	- - - -	40	280
- - - -	- - - -	40	280
- - - -	- - - - 10	40	280
Van Delft			
- - - -	- - - - 11	70	400
1 jacht			
Van Hoorn			
- - - - 12	De Nagelboom	52	225
een jacht			
Van Rotterdam			
- - - - 13	Batavia	44	200
Van Enkhuysen			
- - - - 14	- - - -	40	200
Tot Secoers van de West Indische Compagnie 15			
De Ruyter	De Spiegel	70	315
De Wild	Utrecht	56	260

¹ Cornelis Muts.

² Joris J. Kuiten.

³ Kat.

⁴ Evert van Gelder.

⁵ Jacob Senten.

⁶ Simon Jansz.

⁷ Dirk Wessels. These last four from the list for August.

⁸ Vogel.

⁹ Bastiaan Senten.

¹⁰ These three are probably Pool in the Sphera Mundi, Posthorn in the Agatha, and Thomasz in the St. Paul.

¹¹ Jeuriaan Poel in the Delfland. Built for Spain as the Nostra Signora del Rosaria. See *The Mariner's Mirror*, viii. 16.

¹² Boon.

¹³ Nicolaas Naalhout. From August list.

¹⁴ Raepe in the St. Paul. See note 5 under 'Noorder Quartier' (p. 192).

¹⁵ To the help of the West India Company. This is Ruyter's fleet. Checked with list in *Leven van de Ruiter*.

Wm. Vandesane ¹	't Geloof	56	235
Jacob Sweers	Middelburgh	36	160
Hendrick Adriaensz	— — — — ²	30	240
Jan Cornelisz Swart	Edam	32	140
Aert van Es ³	Princess Louise	40	190
Jan van Es ⁴	Harderwick	34	150
Haegswant	Rotterdam	34	150
Jan Cornelisz Meppels	West Vriesland ⁵	40	200

t'Samen 136 Schepen, 6042 Stucken, 28951 Man. Behalven 11 Branders, 20 Advys-Jachten, en 20 worden noch gehuurt, die in de Middellantse Zee sullen zyn, over welck 20 Jan Gideonsz Verburgh sal commandaren.⁶

1665

April 20th. Thursday. This day the Duke of Buckingham and Mr James Porter came on board my ship (the Prince) to continue for the voyage.

The wind not being proper for us and other occasions hindering the fleet's sailing, this day in the afternoon his Royal Highness in the private Council of War resolved to sail on Friday morning. The course to be for to make the Texel, and then to ply in the offing and work as weather and future circumstances occur.

Our order of Battle was as is set down in the next page.⁷

His Highness also appointed for rendezvouses in case of separation by stormy weather—Bridlington ⁸ Bay for a southerly wind—Southwold Bay for a northerly wind. Which places of rendezvous were

¹ Van der Zaan.

² Damiaten.

³ Van Nes.

⁴ Van Nes.

⁵ 't Noorderquartier.

⁶ Together 136 ships, 6042 guns, 28,951 men, besides 11 fireships and 20 despatch-yachts. And 20 are to be hired, which shall be in the Mediterranean, which Jan Gideonsz Verburgh shall command.

⁷ See p. xlviil.

⁸ MS. Burlington.

delivered to the commanders in papers sealed up to prevent public discourses of them, whereby the enemy might have notice of them (possibly) to our future prejudice.

This evening also his Highness called a General Council of War of all the Captains of the fleet and exhorted them to behave themselves gallantly in fight, to give berth in sailing and anchoring, to observe carefully all their instructions and order of Battle, and some other useful advices of care of the ships' masts and tackle.

The Earl of Sandwich with the Blue Squadron.

Vice Admiral's Division

Guernsey

Henry—Vice Admiral

Lizard

York

Providence

Unicorn

Assistance

Castle Frigate

Hampshire

Hambro' Merchant

Jersey

Admiral's Division

Good Hope

Swallow

John and Thomas

Bredah

Dunkirk

Pembroke

Blackamore

Fireship—Prince—Admiral

Ketch

Oxford

Montagu
Centurion
Maryland
Dragon

Rear Admiral's Division
Dreadnought
Society
Adventure
Golden Phoenix
Princess
Marmaduke
Essex
Paul
Royal Katherine—Rear Admiral
Forester

His Royal Highness with the Red Squadron,
himself hath the Standard.

Rear Admiral's Division
Sapphire
Leopard
George
Portsmouth
Bonaventure
Success
Swiftsure—Rear Admiral
Little Mary
Fairfax
Satisfaction
Amity
Eagle

Lord High Admiral's Division
Yarmouth
Coventry
Loyal George
Old James

Antelope

Mermaid

Drake—Royal Charles

Norwich

Happy Return

Mary

Blackamore

Fountain

Plymouth

Vice Admiral's Division

Dover

Coast

St George

Guinea

Norwich

Royal Oak—Vice Admiral

Martin

Diamond

Royal Exchange

Gloucester

Bristol

Prince Rupert with the White Squadron, himself
carrying the Union Flag.

Rear Admiral's Division

Milford

Speedwell

Resolution—Rear Admiral

Truelove

Anne

Kent

Constant Catherine

Bear

Advice

St Andrew

East India Merchant

Admiral's Division

Portland
 Bendish
 Henrietta
 Mary Rose
 Assurance
 Garland

Fireship—Royal James—Admiral

Merlin
 Revenge
 Exchange
 Rainbow
 Reserve

Vice Admiral's Division

Katherine
 Return
 John and Abigail
 Expedition
 Ruby
 Lion
 Newcastle
 Monk
 Hector
 Triumph—Vice Admiral
 Paradox
 Colchester

21st. Friday. Weighed our anchors in the morning. Presently it fell calm and foggy, so we stopped the flood at an anchor and with the ebb weighed again, little wind and unsettled, and sailed within sight of Orford Ness and there stopped another tide at an anchor.

22nd. Saturday. Weighed anchor again by break of day. Steered our course E.N.E. At noon I observed our latitude by the sun to be

52° 20'. The wind was at S.S.W., fresh gale. We lay and drove all the night.

23rd. Sunday. We made sail again, and our scouts took a Dutch fisherman or two, who told us we were near the land off Egmont about 6 leagues. His Royal Highness put abroad the Standard and all the Flags went on board him. The wind was southerly and S.E., fresh gale.

At the Council of War it was deliberated how to dispose of the fleet.

We had 3 ends to consider :—

1. The hindering the conjunction of the enemy's fleet, 30 or 40 sail whereof were in the Wielings and Mase.

2. To attend the surprising of their merchants or a party of 12 men of war with De Ruyter, now expected about by Scotland.

3. To provoke the Dutch fleet to come out of the Texel to an engagement.

It was generally agreed that to intend the first was not advisable ; because we were not sure whether they meant suddenly to conjoin ; and if they did mean it and intend it, they might very possibly effect it, do what we could to the contrary. Then to ride in a station fit for that design would be so much to the southward as the Vlie¹ and Texel channels would be left open for their ships to enter into, that were expected home, which if they should do, we should be greatly reproached for neglecting them.

And it was as generally agreed that we should put ourselves in the best posture we could to attain the other two ends.

The attraping their ships homeward bound being the most hopeful design we had, since we

¹ MS. Fly.

had reiterated intelligence of a fleet of Hollanders seen on the back of Ireland plying to the northward. The King's letter also advising the Duke to do his best to attrap them. And we thought the hindering their trade to come home the best provocation to make the enemies fleet come out to sea. The best station for the fleet in order to this design was judged about 12 leagues N.W. & b.N. from the Texel.

It was discoursed whether the fleet should keep under sail or come to an anchor, but concluded to ride at an anchor, because it would make the station of the fleet more certain to all our scouts and those that from England should seek us, free us from the danger of loss of masts or bowsprits by running foul of one another and prevent our separation ; all which inconveniences were likely to follow our keeping under sail. It was therefore resolved the Admiral should anchor about 12 leagues N.W.b.N. from the Texel, Prince Rupert to anchor a league from the Admiral N.E. and myself with the Blue Squadron a league from the Admiral S.W.

It was directed that the Admiral's squadron should have two frigates scouts fair in sight of the Texel channels and two more into the offing N.W. Prince Rupert was to have 2 frigates scouts upon the Vlie channel and 2 more to the N.E. I was to send 2 frigates to the southward scouts and 2 more to the W.N.W.

These scouts were to return every 24 hours to the Flags to give an account. The whole fleet to ride single and to endeavour to ride it out all weathers.

This evening the fleet came to an anchor in 16 fathom on the broad fourteens, by our ship's account west from the Texel some 10 leagues.

24th. Monday. Capt. Lambert¹ took a small privateer near the shore of the Texel, and says he judges the Texel to bear E.S.E. about 9 or 10 leagues.

25th. Tuesday. It blew fresh at west, hazy weather and close. About noon the Duke of York called the Council of War together and deliberated about weighing anchor with the fleet and standing within sight of the shore.

The grounds for it was, that the King would be pleased therewith (which was told me privately), publicly it was alleged the reputation it would give the fleet to show themselves unto the enemy's fleet and country, whereby the difficulty of getting men (which is still a great want with them) would be increased, and the people of the land (who already have ill satisfaction with De Witt and their Governors) might be more incensed and stirred to mutiny, besides the provocation to their fleet to come abroad. And the Duke himself also was well inclined to do it.

Sir John Lawson was for this, and Sir William Penn not only for looking upon them but anchoring 2 or 3 days in sight.

I submit to better judgments, but would not of my own choice have done it. Because I think little reputation can be gotten thereby, and that we want it not, since we are here within 10 leagues of the coast where they may come and fight us any day the wind serves (if they please). We are also seen daily by ships and vessels of Holland and strangers also that pass through us, and send home fishermen prisoners that we take here, so that the common people in Holland and in other countries also cannot be kept without the knowledge of our

¹ In the Happy Return.

station and strength, besides that our own scouts every day go fair by them.

Moreover, if the sight of us prevent their manning, it will hinder their coming out to engage—and our riding in sight will make it difficult for them to get out without hazard of being engaged part of them before the whole number can be in the sea. Besides in this uncertain climate and with so numerous a fleet and ships of great draught of water an accident by storm might happen, much to endanger the fleet.

But against riding at anchor in sight I am utterly, for the last reason mentioned, viz. danger, and the others also, and further because we shall be then in a worse capacity to hinder De Ruyter or their merchants from coming home than 15 leagues off in the sea ; it will be harder to guard the entrance of the Vlie and Texel channel, and if we do see them we shall have so little sea room to chase them, and be so unready at an anchor, that much success cannot be hoped for, but they will run into their ports before they can be well engaged by us.

Wherefore I submit to go and look upon the Texel and gain this benefit by it, to be certain to steer off into the sea N.W. & b.N. (of which yet we differ in opinion how we bear from the Texel) and there ride and keep out our scouts ; but I am not of opinion for our anchoring in sight of the Texel.

26th. Wednesday. Morning calm, afternoon a southerly breeze and a very thick fog all day long.

Concerning the tides where we rode, we observed the strength of the flood to come from the S.S.W. and of the ebb from the N.N.E., the rests round the compass ; the stream weak and the water rose scarce one fathom. We were in the

depth, ebb 15 and flood 16 fathom; a W.S.W. moon made high water, but it runs half tide until W.N.W.

27th. Thursday. 6 in the morning we set sail with a gentle gale of wind at S.E., thick and foggy. The wind veered to the S., W. and N.N.W., and N. at night, when we came to anchor in 16 fathom, the Texel (by our reckoning) east from us, 5 leagues off. The master judged the ship's way this day to have been E.S.E. 5 leagues.

28th. Friday. In the morning weighed and stood in for the shore. About noon we made the Texel and the Hollands fleet within at an anchor. With my glass I could make 2 Admirals and 2 Vice Admirals and abundance of ships' masts that rode further within.

In the evening, the wind being north a hard gale, we stood off to sea again and came to an anchor about 8 leagues west from the Texel.

29th. Saturday. The wind at N.E., a fresh gale. The fleet weighed again and stood to the eastward, intelligence being brought unto the Duke by some of the frigates that 40 sail of ships were seen this morning to come out of the Texel. About 4 oclock in the afternoon we were in sight of the shore and ships within the Texel. An hour after we stood off again and in the evening anchored about 5 leagues west from Huisduin¹ (which is the head of land to the southward of the Texel. The report of 40 sail abroad was false.

30th. Sunday. The wind at N.b.E., blew hard. The Duke put abroad the Standard in the mizzen shrouds and all the Council of War (except Prince Rupert and Sir George Ayscue) came on board. It was debated again whether the fleet should post themselves between the Texel and the

¹ MS. Huysdowne,

Wielings to hinder the conjunction of the Dutch forces and concluded in the negative, as a thing hard to prevent, dangerous to the fleet to post themselves fit for that purpose in this season of the year, destructive to other designs, and in my own opinion if it could have been effected not advisable, because it would certainly hinder their coming out to engage us, which is the chief thing to be wished for, since we are superior to them in force and stronger now than we are like to be hereafter, and shall shortly be necessitated to go off their coast to recruit water and beer, and then they will have opportunity to join without disturbance.

It was then agreed to ride with the fleet N.N.W. from the Texel about 15 leagues or more and keep out our scouts to have notice if the enemy comes out and to attrap anything homewards bound.

The Duke did propose to consideration what attempt could be made upon the Dutch fleet as they rode at the Texel, which thing had been hinted from Sir George Downing (the envoy in Holland) and by Prince Rupert and myself, but both the enterprise and the circumstance of the Duke's person commanding the fleet make it of very great weight to determine, and therefore was left with us to ruminate further upon.

May 1st. Monday. The wind at N.E., fresh gale. Early in the morning we weighed anchor and plied to windward. In the evening anchored again (as we reckon) W.N.W. from the Texel about 18 leagues in 15 fathom.

3rd. Wednesday. Wind at N.N.W. At 2 oclock in the afternoon we set sail, and anchored again at sunset by our reckoning 14 leagues off the Texel, N.W.

4th. Thursday. At 6 oclock this morning our frigates to the norward made signs of discovery of

a fleet, and accordingly our best sailers made all the sail they could and the whole fleet got under sail also. The ships in sight were 10, stood all by a wind. About noon our frigates fetched 4 of them by the lee and the next morning brought in 4 more (they were most fly-boats from Bordeaux and Lisbon, and one square-sterned ship from the West Indies worth £30,000). The other two, who were men of war of 26 guns (all the ships were of Holland and Zeeland) got away to windward, by the fault of Capt Hyde of the Sapphire, who left pursuing them to take up a merchantman and never set his topgallant sails nor loosed his main topsail reef,¹ the wind being but a top-gallant gale. The Duke gave him a severe reprimand before the flag officers.

The Dutch ships taken say at the Dogger-bank they parted from 29 more who steered for the Texel more in by the shore, whereof we hope for some account by frigates we have that way.

This fleet (in all probability) we take for those 40 sail given us notice of from Limerick a fortnight since. They came about Ireland and endeavoured to make Shetland, but could not, so steering on in the latitude of 62° their first landfall was with the Land van Stadt² of Norway. At night we came to an anchor in the sea by our reckoning N.W.b.N. from the Texel 17 leagues, in the latitude of $53^{\circ} 50'$ by Capt Cox his observation of the sun.

5th. Friday. This morning the Standard was put abroad in the Charles to assemble the Flag Officers. When we were met the whole business of the fleet was under consultation, and in the first place the attempting the fleet at the Texel was rejected, because seeing the exploit must have

¹ MS. riff.

² Statland, a promontory in $62^{\circ} 10' N$.

been to carry in ships of ours of force to drive the headmost ships of theirs from their anchors, and then when they had been in confusion and driven thick together to have turned in fireships upon them.

It was considered that the broadest channel of the Texel (viz. the Spanish Gat) is of late times grown worse, not of above 3 fathom at the best of a spring tide (where the water rises and falls not above 6 foot) and is a long flat of near 2 miles to run over.

The other channel of the Texel, called the Land Diep, is very narrow, of entrance not above a ship's length, and hath the same depth of water as the other and but a very little way to run over until you come into deep water (from the offing running in from 5 fathom you shall come into 3 and in a ship's length into 15 fathom, the hole where their ships now ride).

So that our ships above the 4th rate could scarce possibly be carried in, and but one at a time, and to send in ships of weaker force and but scattering to attack an enemy prepared to defend themselves was held desperate, besides if a good force should get over the shoals with a tide of flood the enemy might retire and with the ebb fall down again with force and fireships upon ours who had not possibility of retreat.

And then to endanger the weakening of our body when we expect a battle, or our reputation when hitherto it hath been growing, and no ill happened to us. Besides the consideration of the Duke's commanding the fleet. It was thought very inadvisable to make any such attempt.

We then considered what ships of the Hollanders might be expected home. And it appeared to our apprehensions that the expecta-

tion of the 40 ships seen on the back of Ireland was over by our encounter yesterday. The Smyrna fleet was laid up at Cadiz and would never stir without a convoy, whereof probably we should get notice. Of De Ruyter (that was gone to Guinea with 12 men of war) no news by these ships taken, and by the last of our intelligence he was expected back at Cadiz by the middle or latter end of this month, whereof probably we should get notice. Their East India fleet expected in June and July. Nothing daily looked for but some scattering ships from the Baltic and the Northward.

So that, in order to attraping their ships homeward bound, the attendance of our whole fleet was held unnecessary and it was thought sufficient to appoint for that end a squadron of 8 ships of the 4th and 5th rate to ply 8 or 10 days north from the Vlie and between that and the shore and then to return to the fleet.

The main body of our fleet was in condition for water and victuals to have continued 3 weeks longer in the sea. But what post was fittest for us was to be considered, and seeing we needed not keep sea to wait any ships homeward bound, and that our being in the sea was a hindrance rather than a furtherance to the coming out of the Dutch fleet ; that a supply of all sorts was ready for us at Harwich, to enable the fleet to keep the sea for divers months ; that we might have leisure to take it in before the Dutch fleet come out, and be ready to meet them whensoever they sally ; on the other hand, if we should stay in the sea and reduce ourselves to a necessity of supplies and to return to some road and the Dutch come out and interrupt us whilst we are not able to go to sea for wants, we know not what prejudice we may be

exposed to, besides the giving them the advantage of braving us and losing the opportunity of a battle to our great reproach. Besides, having our fleet presently recruited and in the sea again, we should be in the most proper season to meet with their East Indiamen, Smyrna ships and De Ruyter.

It was therefore concluded the fleet should forthwith go to the Gunfleet (where it rode before) and pursue this intention.

And in the afternoon the Duke had all the commanders of the fleet together and had their unanimous advice for the executing hereof.

6th. Saturday. His Royal Highness and Prince Rupert, the Duke of Buckingham and I and my Lord of Peterborough dined aboard the Royal Oak with Sir John Lawson.

8th. Monday. A storm of wind at S.S.W. We found the depth of water where we ride about 22 or 23 fathom, seldom more or less. The stream of it to run N.E. and S.W., governed as the wind was, so that we could not guess of the point of the moon with which it turned.

This day I wrote a letter to the King, intending to send it by my Lord Fitzharding.

9th. Tuesday. About noon the storm ceased, which did us no very great damage, a few anchors and cables lost, the Leopard's bowsprit, foremast and foretopmast came by the board, and several of our merchant ships drove from their anchors and some of the King's.

10th. Wednesday. The Standard was put abroad in the Charles and the Council of War met. The debate was whether we should pursue our former resolution of sailing considering the effect of the storm in parting some of our ships and hindering others to come in to us, and it was concluded by all the rest to sail and that we should

gather up our ships as well under sail as staying at anchor and gain upon our course homeward also. That if it did overblow, the fleet could come to an anchor again.

I confess my single opinion was for riding still at an anchor until we had a leading gale of wind homewards, thinking our ships separated would find us out better at the place where they parted from us, and if we did sail with the wind against us, we should do no good for furtherance of our course ; if it overblew and we compelled to anchor again, the oftener we do it the more prejudice to our cables. Besides, a storm might take us in the night, when it was not possible to anchor clear one of another, and then very much hazard a great separation of the fleet.

I had an imagination also that the Dutch at the Texel (provoked by our showing ourselves to them and taking and spoiling near 30 sail of that parcel of the ships seen on the back of Ireland) might hope the late storm had prejudiced our fleet, put us to sea and scattered us more than it did, and so might have sallied out to pick up our straggling ships or small squadrons. In which regard I thought we might have waited 4 or 5 days for a large wind that could bring them out, and then have weighed ourselves and stood along our course hauling within 5 or 6 leagues of the Dutch coast, that so we might have met with any of their ships, if they were abroad.

This day I received a letter from the Lords Commissioners of Prize Goods to use my endeavour that a bargain of theirs might be made good, whereby they had sold all the brandy belonging to the fleet, as well as the King's, for £26 10s. od. the ton, the buyer cleared of all charges ; whereas we have been offered the same money and the

buyer to pay the customs and charges (which amount to about £7 in the ton). The Lords Commissioners alleged for reason that if the brandy was suffered to be sold in small parcels, though we might get more money, yet the market being supplied therewith, the King's part would then be upon his hands; which we enervate by offering to give the King the price for his that the Lords have sold it at. They further allege their honours much concerned in making good what they have done.

I communicated this letter to the other Flag Officers, who were all of opinion to insist in this matter to gain a liberty of selling our own (the more for not admitting an ill precedent in future cases) and not to suffer so great a loss as more than 1/4 part. And considering the Duke had written before on our behalf to these Lords, whereunto they had sent him no answer, we thought this letter was directed unto me that they might more freely urge those things which could not so decently have been returned unto his Highness. And therefore they directed me to write unto the Lords that the Duke having before written unto them concerning this affair, they were bound in duty to attend the answer to his letter and expect the issue from his Highness' mediation; which answer I did accordingly write, intending it to go with my Lord Falmouth.

This day the Vanguard came to the fleet from the Gunfleet.

11th. Thursday. In the morning at 6 oclock, the wind blowing fresh at S.b.W., the whole fleet weighed and stood to the westward. We made our way N.W.b.W. about 11 leagues and at sunset came to an anchor in 24 fathom, N.W. from the Texel 28 leagues. Cooper affirmed that at 4 oclock

he struck ground in 34 fathom, a greater depth than is in any draught (but we doubt a mistake in it).

12th. Friday. In the morning, 6 oclock, the wind S.b.W., the fleet weighed again. At noon we had a very good observation of the sun and found ourselves in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 12'$. The Centurion came in with 2 Holland prizes from the Eastland and news that our other ships abroad had taken divers more and put others ashore of their Southern fleet. At noon our way was N.W.b.W. 5 leagues, and 40 fathom water. To 8 oclock at night W.N.W. 7 leagues, 43 fathom depth of water to 17, entering the Dogger Bank.

13th. Saturday. At noon our way S.S.W. 4 leagues. Depth of water 17, 18, 15, 14, 22, 37, 27, in and off the Dogger Bank. Wind calm and variable all night. At 6 oclock this morning the wind came up a small gale at North and N.N.E. By our account Flamborough Head bears from us this noon between W. and W.b.S. 23 leagues off. Our latitude by observation $54^{\circ} 10'$. The Duke of Buckingham and I dined aboard the Charles this day.

14th. Sunday. From yesterday at noon to this noon our way (we judge) S.b.E. 22 leagues. Wind at and betwixt the North and E.N.E., a fine small gale. Depth of water 23, 17, 17, 18, 15, 18, 17, 20, 19, 24, 21 and just at noon 7 fathom, at which time by our account Yarmouth bore S.W. 8 leagues off and we saw the land of Winterton S.W.b.W. and Haisboro W.b.S. 6 or 7 leagues off. Before this bank we had 21 fathom, then 9, 8, 7, for 2 or 3 casts of the lead; then presently 17 and 18 fathom again.

This night Mr Russell and my Lord John Butler bound for London went ashore at Lowestoft¹ in

¹ MS. Lestoft.

the Guernsey, as also my son Sydney and Capt Herbert, to go to Sir Charles Herbert's house and to return to us to Ipswich. Little wind and the fleet under sail all night. This night the Duke of Buckingham and Mr Porter took leave of this ship and went for London with my Lord Falmouth next morning in the Duke's yacht.

15th. Monday. In the morning we were fair in sight of the shore off Alborough and near the Knock. Some of our ships were fain to bear up for it about 2 in the afternoon. Orford town and castle fair in sight near 4 leagues off N.W. from us and Bawdsey¹ steeple about four or 5 leagues off W. & b.N. We sailed very near the Shipwash² without it in 14 fathoms. About 8 oclock the fleet came to an anchor near the Gunfleet. The Naze land W.N.W. from us, some 4 leagues off.

The Duke called aboard the Council of War and communicated news from London and of the fleet of Zealand's being joined to those of the Texel, seen to go in there by the Marmaduke, 27 sail, and resolutions were taken to repair the wants of the fleet with all possible industry, so as to get quickly out again to sea.

When we came to anchor, we saw riding near Harwich a great fleet of colliers, about 80 sail or more, bound to Newcastle for coals, and had a proclamation of the King's to secure their men. It was deliberated whether they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage in regard of the danger of the enemy's fleet being abroad at sea, and concluded to stop them. Then whether we should instantly seize their men and then send to know the King's pleasure, to have them restored or no

¹ MS. Balsey.

² MS. Sheepewash.

(to prevent their deserting their ships and getting out of our reach by staying for the King's answer). Because our fleet wanted men very much.

But in regard of the King's proclamation and also the expectation of the City of London from this collier fleet, it was judged a softer course was best, viz. to suffer their men to remain on board until we received the King's pleasure; and that they might not desert their ships, that the Duke should presently publish his order to the commanders of the fleet strictly to observe the King's proclamation, whereby confidence would be begotten in the collier men. Notwithstanding this resolution, although the men of war that were their convoys commanded them to stay and came back themselves to the fleet, yet the colliers would not stay, but proceeded on their voyage.

16th. Tuesday. It blew very hard at S.W. This evening the Duchess came in one of the yachts from Gravesend at 12 o'clock; was aboard the Charles about 4 or 5 that afternoon.

17th. Wednesday. It continued blowing. I went and dined in the Charles. At evening blew very hard, a storm of wind at S.W.

18th. Thursday. Southerly wind, very fine weather.

19th. Friday. S.W. wind, fresh gale, ill looking weather. This morning the Guernsey came in from Lowestoft having put the gentlemen ashore.

22nd. Monday. This morning Monsr. Ballize came from London and brought me a letter from the King, to which I returned an answer this evening.

The gentlemen and ladies from the Charles dined aboard the Prince this day with me.

We had intelligence from Holland that Obdam

with their fleet sailed out of the Texel on Saturday the 13th instant and are gone towards the Dogger Bank to seek the English fleet. They account themselves 160 sail, including fireships and doggers and smacks etc., of which capital ships of war 105.

24th. Wednesday. Before noon the Duchess and all her company went on board the Anne yacht bound for London. It was a gentle gale at S.W.

25th. Thursday. This morning the Duke called a court-martial of all the Captains of the fleet for the trial of Captain Edward Nixon, who was commander of the Elizabeth frigate. Had been at Tangier to transport my Lord Bellasis and the recruits for that garrison, and was returning for Plymouth with the Eagle in company and in the Soundings met with 2 Dutch men of war of above 30 guns each. Exchanged some broadsides with them and at night bore up for the Channel and left them, they pursuing him until 4 oclock next morning. The captain of the Eagle advising him to continue the fight and himself, viz. the capt. of the Eagle, being shot in the head with a small shot, a slight wound.

Capt. Nixon confessing the fact and alledging nothing for himself, but the evil council of his ship's officers and bad weather that he could not carry out his lower tier, and suspicion that these 2 men of war had more ships near to countenance their boldness ; and too much care to perform his orders, which were to go to Plymouth and there receive advice how matters passed between our fleet and the Hollanders and in case of no danger to repair to Portsmouth, concluded with acknowledging he had greatly offended and begged the Duke's mercy.

Hitherto the Duke and Prince Rupert were present, but after Capt. Nixon had said, the Duke spoke to the commanders, told them how much the honour of the King and the Nation was wounded in this miscarriage, wished the commanders to consider of what had been confessed and to punish it with severity according to the laws martial. And so himself and Prince Rupert went out of the court and commanded me to preside the court-martial.

The Judge-Advocate, Fowler, read unto us the laws martial pertinent for the occasion and the 12 Article was pitched upon by the commanders, which says that whatsoever captain shall withdraw himself from a fight with the enemy or not do his best to destroy and take all pirates and enemies shall be punished with Death, or such other punishment as the court-martial shall think fit. And the court-martial did unanimously conclude his offence within that article.

And the major part of them (all indeed except 6 or 7, viz. (as I remember) Vice Admiral Myngs, Capt. Kempthorn, Capt. Fenn, Capt. Shelly and 2 or 3 more, who were for a mitigated sentence, because the article did leave a liberty for it, but gave no other reason for the lessening his offence) did adjudge him to suffer death according to that article by being shot to death.

Capt. Nixon was called in and the said sentence was pronounced unto him, and so the court was dismissed.

This day Sydney and Capt. Herbert returned on board from Norfolk and Ipswich, and Sir Robert Townsend came on board my ship from London.

26th. Friday. The Duke assembled the same court-martial again and we enquired into the

behaviour of Captain Stansby of the Eagle, and in the conclusion cleared him of any blame in that transaction of Nixon's, and approved his carriage as a man of sound reputation and under that character represented him to his Royal Highness's favour to be employed in his Majesty's service.

We condemned (also) a soldier to be hanged for speaking mutinous words, reproaching the laws of war and saying if all the soldiers were of his mind, they would feise the seamen over board.

This afternoon it blew a great storm of wind at S.W., so that I could not get off the Charles until Sunday morning. A small vessel near the Charles sank downright at an anchor, divers boats staved, and no business to be dispatched all that time.

[Between the last two paragraphs is copied another list of the Dutch fleet.]

Esquadres van de Vloot, die onder den Lieutenant Admiraël Generaël, Heer Jacob van Wassenaer, Heer van Opdam,¹ uyt Texel in Zee sullen gaen.

Hier van sal den Adm. Kortenaer de Voortocht hebben ; Daer na den Heer Tromp ; Dan den Generaël Wassenaer ; en dan den Vice-Adm¹¹ Schram ; En't laetste Stellingwerf.²

¹ The spelling *Opdam* instead of the correct *Obdam* is found throughout the *Journal*. This list is printed as spelt in the MS.

² The following list is in a secretary's hand. It agrees almost exactly, save for a few variations in spelling, with the list given in Aitzema's *Saken van Staet en Oorlog*, or in the *Leven van C. Tromp*.

I. Esquadre onder de Heer van Opdam
Voerende de Wimpel van de Groote Stengh ¹

Kapiteyns	Schepen	Stucken	Man
De Heer van Opdam,			
Admiraell	De Eendracht	84 †	500
Van der Hulst, Vice Adm.	Amsterdam	66	260
De Graef, Schout by Nacht	't Slot Tytverdryf	62	290
Jan Adriaensz Swart	't Huys te Cruningen	62	250
Jan van Amstell	De Vryheyt	60	250
Hugo van Nieuwenhof	Der Goes	48	200
Hendrick Gotskens	De Vrede	56	230
Otto van Treslong	Gouda	56	230
Jacob Willensz Broeder	Dom van Utrecht	45	220
Jacob Wiltshut	Harderwyk	48	210
Adam van Brederode	't Wapen van Haerlem	48	200
Balchazar van de Voerde	Zeelandia	40	180
Herman Egbartz Wolff	De Star	38	160
Rincke Tiebbes Bisschop	De Steden	48	235
Adriaen Bowman	Den groten Harder	34	150
Gerrett de Pellaen	De Brack	18	80
Jacob Reus (Ostind.Comp.)	Maerseveen	78	450
Kleydyck	Dordrecht	44	200
De Klerck	Prins Mauritts	50	230
Oudart	Stadt Utrecht	44	200
3 Branders 3 Galjoots			

† Metale Stucken, de onderste laegh schiet 24 ponden, daer onder vier van 36 ponden.²

II. Esquadre onder de Heer Kortenaer
De Wimpel van de Besaens Mast.³

De Heer Cortenaer, Adml.	Groot Hollandia	78	325
Dirck Schey, Vice Adml.	Oosterwyck	30	350
Nicholaes Marrevelt, S.b.N.	Stavoren	58	220
Ysbrant de Vries	Doesburgh	48	210
Allard Mathisz	Hilverson	62	290
Joost Verschuur	't Zuyder Huys	56	230
Cornelis van Hogenhoek	Vereenigde Provinciën	52	220
Antoni de Marre	De Wakende Boey	52	220

¹ Flying the pendant at the main topmast.

² Brass guns ; the lower tier 24 prs., with four 36 prs.

³ The pendant at the mizzen.

Kapiteyns	Schepen	Stucken	Man
Hendrick van Tol	Duyvenvoort	52	220
Gerbrant Boes	Kasteel van Medemblik	30	140
Liev van Hasevelt	De Harderen	40	180
Jan van Blanckenburgh	Overissel	38	160
Jan van der Mars	Maeght van Enckhuisen	38	160
Barrent Halls	't Wapen van Leiden	26	120
Abraham van Brackel	Eenhoorn	24	100
Jeuriaen Jansz Poel	Delflant	70	400
2 Brander 2 Galyots			

III. Esquadre onder de Heer Tromp

De Hoornse Vleugel ¹

De Heer Tromp, Admiraal	't Schip de Liefde	82	350
Gillis Tysz Campen, V.Ad.	Koeverden	60	240
Pieter Salomonsz, S.b.N.	Campen	54	220
Adriaen van Reed	De Tromp	54	210
Janel Haen	Stad en Omlanden	60	240
Tomas Fabricius	Jaersvelt	52	210
Jaen Adelaer	Raethuis van Haarlem	54	220
Pieter Uyttenhout	Groeningen	48	210
Commer Geritsz	Luypaert	60	250
Hendrick van Vollenhoven	De Vergulde Son	44	200
Cornelis Berritsz Burger	't Wapen van Edam	34	150
Cornelis Josten Smient	De Schager Roos	40	180
Hendrick Acro	Vollenhoven	26	120
Adriaen van Veen	Asperre	36	160
Heyen Brouwer	De kleynen Harder	30	130
Laurens Bruyn	De Fortune	18	80
Jan Pietersz Onklaer	Batavia	44	200
3 Brander 3 Galioot			

IV. Esquadre onder de Heer Vice Adm. Schram

De groote enckel Prinse Vleugel ²

Schram, Admiraell	Goude Leeuw	60	295
Stadhover, Vice Adm.	De Munnick	36	130
Houthuyn, S.b.Nacht	't Wapen van Medemblik	59	390

¹ The pendant of Hoorn.² The great single Prince's pendant.

Kapiteyns	Schepen	Stucken	Man
De Boer	Gelderlant	60	290
Halfhooven	't Fregat Hoorn	32	140
Groes	d'Eendracht	52	285
Slord	Joshua	50	250
Bruynvis	West Vrieslandt	60	290
Victoll	Eenhoorn	32	160
Cornelis Mats (O.C.) ¹	De Beurs van Amster- dam	52	240
Boon (O.C.)	De Nagelboom	52	225
Berckhout	Prinses Royael	40	180
Bebber	Hollandse Tuyn	56	280
Huytema	Jupiter	45	200
Hen	De Jonge Prins	30	160
Boys	Kasteel van Medem- blik	30	140

V. Esquadre onder de Heer Stellingwerf
De Geele Vleugel ²

Stellingwerf, Adm.	Sevenwolden	60	300
Koenders, Vice Adm.	Omlandia	50	235
Bruynsvelt, Schout b.N.	Albertina	50	250
Allert Pietersz Boer	Oostergo	62	325
Tyerck Hiddes	De Steden	41	235
Barent Hiddes	Westergo	54	250
Joost Michielsz	Hollandia	44	230
Willem Kodde van der Burg	Ylst	38	180
Jacob Petyns	Faisant	40	200
Kat (Ostin. Comp.)	Mars	46	210
Vogell „	Jacht de Rutter	18	80
Rechter „	't Huys te Swieten	70	300
Kuyten „	Carolus Quintus	53	230
Raep	St. Paul	40	200

ZEELAND.

Jan Evertsz, Admiral van Zeeland		60	240
Cornelis Evertsz		50	240
Adrian Branc kert	't Schip der Veer	50	230
Adriaen de Haes	Dort	44	200
Twyn Man	Zeeland	44	200
Symon Block	Westkappel	40	180

¹ East-India Company.

² The yellow pendant.

Kapiteyns	Schepen	Stucken	Man
Marinus Loncke		40	180
Jan Tyssz		36	160
Adriaen Tyssz	Jonge Prins	20	100
Willem Marinisse	Zee Ridder	32	140
Jacob Pensz	Middelburgh	44	200
Jan Marinissz	Schakerloo	20	130
Lemp Koe		46	220
Jan Evertsz de Jonge		50	230
Kruyningen	't Schip Tergoes	34	250
Kuyper		30	120
Bastiaen Senten	Oranye	75	450
Pool	Sphaera Mundi	40	280
Engel Jansz	Vlasblom	40	280
Cornelis Marynsz	St. Paulus	40	280
2 Branders Pynassen			

DE MAES

Kerckhove	Rotterdam	50	230
Heemskerck	De Liefde	40	180
Van der Camp	Gorcum	34	150
Corstiaen Eldersz	Utrecht	38	180
Solderwagen	Schiedam	24	125
Nydeck	Briel	20	100
Boshuyse	Delft	32	120
Jacob de Witt	Zwol	20	80
Willem Boudewynsz	Een Brander	6	40
Jan van Brackel	Een Brander	6	40
Wynberge	Een Advys-jacht	6	40
Winthont	Een Advys-jacht	6	40

Tot secours van de West-Indische Compagnie zyn 12 Schepen onder 't commando van den E. Heer Vice-Adm. de Ruyter, Ridder van den Olyphant, na Guinee vertrocken.¹

28th. Sunday. The Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Falmouth came to the fleet, and Mr James Hamilton. At noon the Duke loosed his topsail and likewise put abroad the Standard. When the

¹ Twelve ships under the command of the noble lord Vice-Admiral de Ruyter, Knight of the Elephant, have gone to Guinea to help the West-India Company.

Council of War was met, matters were discussed for the expediting the dispatch of the fleet for the sea, and accordingly everyone went to work in our several squadrons, the Duke declaring unto us he intended to sail on Wednesday.

Mr Henry Saville came this day to remain on board my ship for the voyage. This evening came in the Bonaventure, Sapphire and Adventure (4 more of that squadron being returning to us near the shore) from Newcastle, where were no colliers ready to come away, not above 6 loading that were bound for London, and about 40 coasters. And these frigates heard of the Dutch fleet's being abroad and having taken the Good Hope and 8 ships of our Navy provisions coming from Hamburg.

29th. Monday. The Duke called together the Council of War and communicated Sir George Downing's letters, which say that the Dutch fleet have orders to seek us out even to the mouth of the river of Thames. Whereupon it was concluded best for our fleet to move into Southwold Bay, where we had more open sea and not that danger of sands behind us and nearer the enemy, whither our provisions and water yet at Harwich might come to us as well as here, and this was determined to be done tomorrow morning. This evening Mr Steward (brother to Mrs Stewart, maid of Honour)¹ came on board to remain in my ship.

30th. Tuesday. At 8 in the morning the fleet was loose. Wind N.E., gentle gale. The beginning of a tide of ebb, wherewith we fell down until we brought Orford church N.N.W. of us, about 5 leagues, and then came to an anchor in a great fog (the whole day being full of fogs) in 15 fathom.

¹ The difference in spelling appears in the MS.

31st. Wednesday. Weighed again at 9 oclock in the morning and fell down towards the Ness, it bearing from us W.b.N., $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues off. There stopped the tide of flood in 15 fathom. The Duke called the Council of War aboard. Proposed the altering our form of battle, which was from a proposition I made to him, to put all the merchant ships together in the Rear of the fleet and make 3 more flags of them (they being 24 ships in number), by which means our ships of force of the King's would have had their strength contracted into a lesser room (by near a league) than when they are intermixed with the merchant ships. They would have been much stronger to make an impression on the enemy in any part, or to resist any combined force of the enemy attempting us. They would have had no impediment by bad sailers. And the commanders of the King's ships more entire and resolved to aid one another than it is to be feared the others are.

Sir John Lawson was for this the day before and others seemed to like it, but now nobody was forward to speak, and so agreed to continue our former order of battle.

At 10 oclock in the night the fleet weighed anchor and with that ebb fell down into Southwold Bay, my ship riding in $14\frac{1}{2}$ fathom, Southwold N.W.b.W., 2 leagues off. All this day the wind was easterly, very fair weather and pleasant.

June 1st. Thursday. At noon I made an observation of the sun, very good as I think, by my sea-quadrant and found the latitude $52^{\circ} 00'$, but others found it more by their instruments, viz. $52^{\circ} 30'$ and perhaps my sea-quadrant may err $30'$ in most observations.

This afternoon a very great fleet of colliers passed by bound for London, out of which our

ships took men (notwithstanding the Proclamation prohibiting it) and indeed there was necessity for it, we expecting a battle daily and wanting seamen much.

About 1 oclock at noon Prince Rupert's ship from the topmast head discovered a fleet of ships¹ in the offing and presently lowered and hoisted his Ancient, to make us take notice, and then looking out we all saw them, about 100 sail, which we judged to be the Dutch fleet.

About 2 oclock we set sail and stood off to the southward (the wind being all day at N.E. and N.E.b.E., fair weather) and about 4 or 5 oclock afternoon we anchored again in 16 fathom water, S.E. from Southwold between 3 and 4 leagues. The enemy's fleet was then E.N.E. and E.b.N. from us, as far as we could see them from our ship's deck. We cleared our ship and made preparation for engagement what we could. Many more colliers passed by for London this day. At 10 oclock at night, the tide of ebb then beginning, we set sail and plied off towards the enemy all night and the morning following.

2nd. Friday. About noon Southwold bore N.W. 4 leagues off and at 8 this night Southwold bore W.b.N. 7 leagues off, the Hollands fleet being then E.S.E. and E.b.S. from us about 3 leagues. The wind was all the last night and this morning at and between the N.E. and E., a very small gale, but this afternoon it came to the S.E., S. and S.b.W. The enemy still having the weather gage of us, but did not bear up to us. About an hour before sunset a fireship of the enemy's took fire by accident and burnt all night (which we spent standing to the westward).

¹ See p. li.

3rd. Saturday. This morning (wind at S.S.W., then S.W.b.S., a fine chasing gale) we had the weather gage of the enemy. As soon as daylight was clear, we being then 10 or 11 leagues from Southwold, E.b.S. or E.S.E., the enemy's fleet tacked to meet us, and about 4 oclock in the morning the battle began (Prince Rupert having the van of our fleet, his Royal Highness the middle and myself the rear). The fight continued until 8 oclock at night, when we were East from Southwold 20 leagues off, depth 17 fathom, our fleet obtaining a glorious victory and in chase of the remaining part of the enemy's fleet towards the Texel. The particular Passages of which Great Battle follow :—

His Majesty's fleet (seeking an engagement with the enemy) stood after them (our stems being to the S.E.). They, before 4 oclock in the morning, brusquely tacked upon us, stemming westward, and so both fleets passed their broadsides as they crossed by one the other, we to windward of the enemy. In which pass some hurt was done, but not much, neither did the ships pass at a very near distance. And furthermore it is to be noted, that whereas our order of battle (as is before showed in this book) was a line, that so every ship might have his part in fighting and be clear of his friends from doing them damage, yet many of our ships did not (even in this first pass) observe it, but luffed up to windward, that we were in ranks 3, 4 or 5 broad, and divers out of reach of the enemy fired over us and several into us and did us hurt. In that first pass 2 of our merchant ships not being able to weather the enemy fell into their fleet, of which the Charity thinking to save herself by tacking was presently taken, manned and sent instantly away for Holland. The John and

Abigail standing on as we did was much paid with their broadsides, but escaped.

Prince Rupert very bravely after the enemy's fleet was passed by him tacked after them and was himself the headmost ship (his sails and hull was much torn the first pass). This was about 6 oclock in the morning, about which time there was an intermission of shooting near an hour, until Prince Rupert came up with Obdam's ship (who had now tacked upon us again with his head to the South-Eastward). His Royal Highness suspecting the enemy would weather our fleet, if we stood on and tacked in our proper berths to make good the line (though himself was in the middle of the fleet) tacked after the enemy and kept his luff all he could and commanded me to tack, which I did instantly (though in a great crowd of ships and not without danger of being entangled with them) and stood after the Duke, within one ship of him. The enemy, though designed to break through us upon this tack, yet by our timely tacking we had preserved our advantage and they not able to perform their intention but passed very near (this pass) to leeward, and some of them, viz. Tromp and Evertsen (as Evertsen's own letter says) passed very near my ship between me and the Montagu and another frigate. They wounded me my master and divers others with musket shot, sorely paid my fireship (whom I commanded to lay one of them on board, which he bravely attempted and was within his ship's length of him, when his main topmast was shot by the board, 5 men killed and wounded upon the deck, torn sadly in the hull and the man at the helm killed, which made the ship sheer another way).

As soon as ever the enemy had passed us, our

ships tacked to the southward. Sir John Lawson then was the headmost ship of our fleet and with him some others and then my ship and squadron, the Duke making sail to run ahead of us, Prince Rupert and his squadron in the rear. The enemy did not endeavour to tack, but now stood with us side by side (with our heads to the S.E. ward) and knocked it out with us for several hours, sometimes at great distance and sometimes fair by. About 2 oclock in the afternoon Obdam and the Oranje and 3 or 4 more great ships plied me very hotly for 2 hours together, when his Royal Highness stretched it out ahead of me and most bravely himself entertained Obdam, who after a short dispute blew up by his side. The Oranje or Orange Tree endeavouring to lay the Duke on board was gallantly taken up by the Mary and then by the Royal Catherine and Essex, abundance of her men killed and the ship scarce able to swim yielded, and after the men were taken out she was set on fire.

A little before this the Royal Oak, who was ahead of the Duke, sprung her luff and tacked to the westward a-weather of the fleet, which was universally wondered at and an opinion conceived that Sir John Lawson must be killed, and it proved that he was sorely hurt and his master killed also and the ship in some disorder for want of government, which his Royal Highness supplied by sending Capt. Jordan out of the George to command there, after which she ran in again very gallantly and was in at the yielding of the Oranje.

When his Royal Highness began the aforesaid close engagement, at the same time I let fall my mainsail and bore up upon the enemy (putting abroad my blue flag on the mizzen peak, a sign for my squadron to follow me) and we pressed sore

upon them and made some of them give way. Others endeavouring to keep their luff ran foul one of the other, insomuch as 4 sail of brave ships (as they say that had upward of 1000 men in them) were entangled, into whom we poured our broad-sides as we passed by and left them to the mercy of that part of our fleet that followed us. One of these was the ship *Kouverdine*, Tromp[']s Vice Adml., another the *Prince Maurice*, then the *Stadt Utrecht*, the *Steden*.¹ His Royal Highness (as I am told) ordered a fireship to burn them if they would not yield, which was presently put in execution and all destroyed, not above 100 men saved, that were taken out of the sea by our ships' boats as they passed by. Here happened a strange accident, one of the 4 ships burning, when her powder took fire, blew up, and that same force struck away the mast and rigging of one of the rest (of about 40 guns). The hull of which ship not being much possessed by the fire, the men extinguished it and sheered off their ship and were towed away by another ship of theirs after our whole fleet had passed by. But whether the ship was towed into harbour or not, we know not.²

At the same time when I bore up, *Prince Rupert* and his squadron very bravely fell in upon the enemy, who giving way before us and bearing up by degrees, endeavoured to have clapped by a wind the other way and so have weathered us; but the *Prince*, *Rupert*, most bravely pressing them and preserving still the weather gage of them, made them downright bear up before the wind and run with studding sails,³ cutting off their boats and using all advantages of

¹ This sentence in margin.

² These three sentences in margin.

³ MS. *steddinge sayles*.

flight, so that the Prince and his squadron to the westward and I and mine to the eastward (*pari passu*) abreast one of the other pursued the enemy about 6 oclock in the evening, in the beginning of which pursuit the Marseveen, the Tergoes and Capt. Kuyper's ship¹ keeping their luff more than the rest to engage my ship and hinder our chase, I bore up unto him and after some dispute made him bear up round and so sheer aboard his two consorts, and being fast together and well paid they struck their colours unto me and gave over shooting ; but I left them to the ships in the rear who might have preserved and secured them, but one Gregory in a fireship of Prince Rupert's squadron went and set fire on them and they were all destroyed but 100 saved in a boat and some few taken up out of the water. This cruel fact was much detested by us as not beseeming Christians and his Royal Highness ordered the Judge Advocate to examine the matter, in order to have the judgment of a Court Martial thereupon.² We continued our chase, but I was much hindered by having my main topsail shot to pieces, so that I was fain to bring a new one to the yard as we sailed along. About 9 oclock at night his Royal Highness came up with me and I fell astern of him, that he might direct our course all night, which he altered more to the eastward, to cut them off from the shore and going into the Texel, the success whereof follows in the next day's proceedings.

Dutch ships taken in the fight and next morning :—Mars—46, Zelandia—44, Carolus Quintus—53, Delph—32, Nagelboome—52, Younge Prince—36, Hilversome—60, Ruyter—18, Black Bull.

¹ The Swanenburg.

² This sentence in margin.

Some affirm they saw Dutch ships sink down, but I have yet nothing credible thereof.

English slain and wounded :—Of the Red 117, 199, of the White 109, 84, of the Blue 57, 157. Total 283, 440.

Great persons slain :—Earl of Marlborough, Earl of Portland, Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, Mr Boyle, son of the Earl of Burlington. Commanders :—Rear Admiral Sansum, Capt. Ableson, Capt. Kirby.

4th. Sunday. At daylight (we having chased the enemy all night, standing for the Texel) we saw Prince Rupert and his squadron chasing some 40 ships of the enemy's some 3 leagues upon our larboard bow, and a party of some 12 sail of the enemy's was ahead of us, which we gave chase to and some of our frigates came up with them and passed many broadsides upon them, but being near their port and taking all advantages of sailing and the shore and shoal water where our deeper ships could not follow them about 12 oclock at noon they anchored in the mouth of the Lands Diep, which is the westwardmost going into the Texel (which then bore from us E.N.E. 4 leagues off, depth 9 fathom) and in the afternoon, when the tide of flood came, they went into the Texel and we held off to the northward (the wind a fine gale westwardly). Some 6 or 7 ships were taken by our frigates in this morning's chase.

Prince Rupert and myself went on board the Charles to kiss the Duke's hand, whose preservation made our victory glorious. His Highness advised with us what part of our own coast to repair to with the fleet to repair our defects, carry in our prizes, clear us of our wounded men and to get in readiness to take the sea again before the enemy. It was proposed to distribute the fleet to

several ports according as they were likely to be best despatched, preferring real dispatch before the consideration of appearing in some part with an entire fleet to confirm the reputation of our victory. It was said the effect of our force upon the enemy was most notorious all the world over and needed not the fringe of such an appearance.

But upon debate it was found considerable to preserve the fame of our victory against all artifices which the separating the fleet would give advantage for, for if our fleet were not seen entire after this battle, though our victory were notorious, yet the cost of it would be aggravated and our loss imagined to be very great, which might be of great importance to the affair between France and Holland, and also among our own people. Wherefore it was agreed to sail into the Downs with the whole fleet, which we also think to be advantageous for our other ends of distributing and refitting the fleet.

At 6 oclock this evening the southernmost point of the Texel bore E.S.E. about 6 leagues off. The wind was this day at W. and W.S.W., fair weather.

5th. Monday. From 6 last night to this day noon we made our way N.W.b.N. 12 leagues. Depth of water at that time 16 and 17 fathom. Wind at W.S.W., W., W.N.W. Fair weather. At noon the Texel by our reckoning bore from us S.E., 17 leagues off.

6th. Tuesday. From last noon to noon this day our way we judge S.E.b.S. 15 leagues. Depth of water 15, 16 and 17 fathom. Wind variable from the W.N.W. to the S.W., S.S.W. and South. Little wind, fair weather. This forenoon some of our fleet chased 8 or 9 ships which we see stand in for the Texel, but could not get near them before

they got in. This noon Huisduin bore from us E.b.S. and the opening of the Texel E. between 4 and 5 leagues. We saw the ships within plain. Our depth was 13 fathom. Then we tacked and stood off.

7th. Wednesday. At noon we judged Orford Ness S.W. 26 leagues off. Our depth then 20 fathom; and the Texel we judged E. & E.b.S. 17 leagues off. Wind eastwardly, fine gale. This afternoon 2 or 3 small Flemish vessels were brought in to the fleet by some of our frigates.

8th. Thursday. From last noon we judge (to this noon) our way S.W. 20 leagues. Depth 21, 23, 25, 32, 31 fathom. Wind E.S.E., S.E., S., S.b.W. Thick weather and rain. This noon by our reckoning Orford Ness bore S.W. 6 leagues, depth 25. Between 2 and 3 oclock afternoon clearing up we had fair sight of the land. Alborough bore W. 3 leagues off. About 5 we anchored thwart of Dunwich, 7 mile from shore, N.W.b.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. Southwold N.N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., Alborough S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. in 15 fathom at high water. Wind instantly blew W.S.W., a fresh hard gale.

His Royal Highness about 11 oclock called together the Council of War, when we were under sail in sight of land; where it was resolved to come to an anchor in Southwold Bay and send for Capt. Taylor to view the defects of the fleet and to order those ships into the River that must of necessity go thither, and then go for the Downs. The wind also was scant to fetch the Downs at that present. Which was executed as is said before by coming here to an anchor this afternoon.

9th. Friday. Sir William Batten and Capt. Taylor came on board the Duke and went to view the defects thereof. They told the Duke that the principal stores of all kinds were at

Harwich, and Mr Garden likewise arrived with an account that victuals was ready for the fleet at Harwich also.

10th. Saturday. In the morning the Duke called the Council of War aboard and reconsidered the matter of going for the Downs. And seeing all our chief provisions was at Harwich, this place near thereunto, very proper also to protect our collier trade, and with the help of Hosely Bay (for such ships whose repair needs smoother water) very good to refit our fleet, a very proper station near the Hollander, clear of all sands when we shall go to sea again ; the only objection in case the wind should veer eastward and blow, against which it is hoped well for a better encounter from this season of the year.

And the defects of the fleet not great, very few ships needing to be sent either into port or smooth water (which shall have orders to proceed forthwith). It was resolved to lay aside the thoughts of the Downs and endeavour to repair the fleet here, and in order thereunto the Duke weighed anchor and stood nearer into the shore for more benefit thereof in our working. About 4 oclock in the afternoon my ship was berthed in 10 fathom $\frac{1}{4}$ less, Southwold bearing N.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ northerly, Dunwich West $\frac{1}{2}$ a point Southerly, by judgment 2 mile from shore.

11th. Sunday. It blew very hard at W.S.W. This day my Lord Hawley came in the Henrietta yacht from the King to his Royal Highness and also brought me a very gracious letter from the King.

12th. Monday. It blew still hard at W.S.W.

13th. Tuesday. Rain in the morning, but the weather broke up about 10 oclock and the Duke put abroad the Standard which assembled

the Council of War. And now at last the old single objection against Southwold Bay, viz. the openness of the road and uncertainty of working in blowing weather prevailed upon all our judgments to remove the fleet and distribute it to the Buoy of the Nore, Hosely Bay and the Rolling Grounds and Harwich, in such manner as might be most proper for despatch and repair of the fleet, the distribution whereof follows.

The distribution of the Fleet to several places in order to refitting.

To Hosely Bay :—

Gloucester, Happy Return, Yarmouth, Antelope, Guinea, Bonaventure, Dover, Sapphire, Amity, Portsmouth, Success, Fountain, Drake, Loyal George, Blackamore Merchant, Coast Frigate, Satisfaction, George, Anne, Monk, Newcastle, Kent, Portland, Reserve, Expedition, Bear, Milford, Constant Katherine, York, Dunkirk, Jersey, Swallow, Breda, Assistance, Dragon, Hampshire, Adventure, Providence, Marmaduke, Guernsey, Forrester, Pembroke, Oxford, Hambro' Merchant, John and Thomas, Castle Frigate, Society, Prudent Mary, Maderas, Tiger, Golden Lion, Royal Exchange.

To the Buoy of the Nore :—

Royal Charles, Swiftsure, Old James, Vanguard, Royal James, Triumph, St Andrew, Rainbow, Prince, Henry, Royal Katherine, Unicorn, Plymouth, Fairfax, Convertine, Diamond, Loyal Merchant, King Ferdinando, Eagle, Resolution, Henrietta, Revenge, Lion, Mary Rose, Assurance, East India Merchant, Bendish, John and Katherine, Dreadnought, Essex, Princess, Centurion, Charles V., Young Lion, Hound—fireship.

To Harwich :—

Bristol, Martin, Garland, Return, John and Abigail, Hilversum, Maen, Young Prince, Delft, Horseman (or Ruyter), Briar—fireship.

To the Rolling Grounds :—

Leopard, Colchester, Exchange, Katherine, Montagu.

To Chatham :—

Royal Oak, St. George, Mary, Clove Tree (or Nagelboom), Zeeland.

This day, after Council, the Duke went aboard the Royal James, to see Prince Rupert, who had kept his chamber of a sore leg. Whilst he was in that ship, Major Robert Holmes (for whom the Prince had moved to be Rear Admiral in the room of Sansum), but his Royal Highness thought more fit to give that flag to Capt. Harman (having before out of kindness to Capt. Cuttance made him the offer of it, but he chose out of friendship to me to stay in this ship and obtained the Duke's leave to do so). The Major, as before said, being hereat discontented, came to the Duke and told him he saw that he had enemies about him that would do him prejudice and never suffer him to rise, and expressed his unwillingness to continue in the service. The Duke most graciously endeavoured to content him and advised him to consider before he absolutely resolved on that course, but in the close Major Holmes presented him his commission and the Duke took it, and when he came on board the Charles, cancelled it and gave his ship to Capt. Laughorne of the Bonaventure.¹

About 11 oclock at night his Royal Highness

¹ Sandwich first wrote 'Moulton of the Centurion' and then erased it. Holmes was employed again next year.

went off from the Charles into his yacht, bound for London.

14th. Wednesday. It blew fresh. The whole fleet weighed, in order to the forementioned distribution. Wind at S.W.b.W. We turned out the flood and came to an anchor 5 or 6 leagues to the southward of Orford Ness. This morning the Mathias came from Portsmouth with sails for the fleet. The Naze bore off us W.b.N. about 4 or 5 leagues off. Depth 13 fathom.

15th. Thursday. Little wind at W. We turned up all the morning tide of flood. About 2 mile below the Spits we stopped the ebb. Next flood we weighed and at 9 at night came to an anchor 2 leagues above the Middle Ground. This night about 8 oclock his Royal Highness landed at Gravesend where his coaches were ready to carry him to London.

16th. Friday. About 5 in the morning we weighed and about 9 in the morning came to an anchor about a mile below the buoy of the Nore.

17th. Saturday. By advice of Commissioner Pett, the Master of Attendance and Master Shipwright, I weighed (the wind S.S.W.) and sailed up Rochester river and came to an anchor at Okeham Ness, for the more convenient repairing of the hull, masts and sails of my ship.

18th. Sunday. I intended to go lodge at Chatham (God permitting) and accordingly did do so, and afterwards went to Groombridge and so to London.

29th. Thursday. The Queen Mother came down the river of Thames in the yachts, bound for France. The Queen of England and Duchess accompanied her below Gravesend, and the King and Duke to the buoy of the Nore, and lodged on board the Charles.

30th. Friday. I came from Dagenham to Chatham.

July 1st. Saturday. I went on board the Prince and waited on the King and Duke in the Charles.

2nd. Sunday. The King, Duke and Prince Rupert went up the river towards Hampton Court. The occasion of Prince Rupert's returning (as I hear from sure hands) was this. The King having now declared the resolution that the Duke should not go to sea, thought good to propose to Prince Rupert that he and I should by joint commission command the fleet and remain in one ship together. The Prince (as I hear) not agreeing thereunto, but offering that himself should command one squadron distinct and I another.

The King did me the high honour, after he had spoken with the Prince, to call me into his cabin (the Duke being present), expressed more value for me than I deserve (God knows) and told me I should be sure either to command jointly with the Prince or be trusted alone with the whole affair, and so advised about regulating the squadrons, appointed that I should wear the red flag and have my own former Vice Admiral and Rear Admiral wear red flags too ; Sir William Penn to wear the white flag, Sir William Berkeley his Vice Admiral and Sir John Jordan his Rear Admiral. Sir Thomas Allen to wear the blue flag, Sir Christopher Myngs his Vice Admiral and Capt. Harman his Rear Admiral.

This afternoon, hearing my Wife was ill at Groombridge, taking the waters of Tunbridge, I went thither, and returned to Chatham next morning, where I found Sir George Carteret and Sir William Coventry.

3rd. Monday. Sir William Coventry acquainted me how the King had ordered things at

parting from the fleet, and amongst other things told me that Sir William Penn was ordered away to Southwold Bay and sailed this day with instructions to the following effect, viz.

Sir William Penn's Instructions, by Sir William Coventry's memory.

To sail from the buoy of the Nore with such ships as were in condition to sail and to hasten to Southwold Bay, sending by ketches or other small vessels to Harwich and Hosely Bay to call thence what should be thereabouts. Being arrived to Southwold Bay (in regard of De Ruyter's being on his way home) to lose no time, but with as many ships as should be ready (not under 40 sail) to sail toward the Vlie or Texel, not to show the fleet to the shore, but to make the land by a ship or two. Then to sail to the east end of the Dogger Bank and to ply or anchor in the latitude of 55° & $\frac{1}{2}$ north from the Texel as occasion should require.

Upon occasion of intelligence to vary his station by advice of a Council of War.

To send notice of his arrival in that station or other occurrences from the first port, and to lodge a paper at Bridlington for information of such of the King's ships as should enquire for him, and to send a ketch to Southwold to the like end.

In case of intelligence or sight of the enemy, liberty to follow them into Norway and if opportunity of service, though in a port of the King of Denmark, not to neglect it.

I must confess, not finding any caution for my commanding this action, in case my ship was ready to sail (the which she was, by the industry I caused to be made), and the haste Sir William Penn made to be gone, I did ruminate a little upon this matter, and in conclusion resolved to sail after him as fast as I could; and though by my

place I had the superior command of Penn, when I was present ; yet, to prevent all inconveniences, I thought it best to have Mr Coventry signify the Duke's pleasure (because the orders were particularly and solely to Sir William Penn without any condition) to him, which he did by a letter the copy whereof follows.

For Sir William Penn, Kt. Vice Admiral of His Majesty's Fleet, on board the Charles.

Chatham, July 4, 1665.

Sir,—Upon arrival at Chatham I find the Prince and divers other ships in good forwardness to sail, so that I do not despair but that they may come to Southwold before you go thence.

If my Lord of Sandwich arrive before you sail, or join you at sea, I cannot suppose that you can have any doubt what is to be done in that case ; but lest you should have any scruple upon the ground of the orders being directed to you, I judge it best for your satisfaction to tell you that I had directions from his Royal Highness just at his going off the Charles, in case I had found my Lord Sandwich here that night, to inform him what was ordered, and if either on his own ship or any other here were ready to go, to refer it to him and in that case his Lordship to execute your instructions.

The haste in which those instructions were drawn (just before the King's departure) did not permit me the taking any copy but the first short notes ; so that if my Lord Sandwich arrive with the fleet, I must desire you to deliver the original in your hands to his Lordship for his guidance.

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,
W. COVENTRY.

4th. Tuesday. About 11 o'clock I came on board the Prince and about an hour after noon was under sail bound for Southwold Bay. Sir George Carteret and Sir William Coventry intended to go for London.

And this morning Sir George Carteret and I signed and sealed agreements for the marriage between his eldest son, Mr Philip Carteret, and my eldest daughter, Jeminah.

5th. Wednesday. Before sunset, short of Southwold Bay 3 leagues, from the topmast head we discovered our fleet—who it seems had been under sail all that day and steered for the Texel. I steered all this night N.E. upon the tide of flood.

6th. Thursday. Early we saw the fleet to leeward of us (the wind being at W.N.W.) and about noon we came up with them, being by judgment E. from the Texel about 10 leagues.

Sir William Penn came on board me, showed me the state of the fleet and intelligence, and without hesitation put all things to my dispose before I showed him Mr Coventry's letter. Sir Christopher Myngs, Sir George Ayscue and Sir Thomas Teddiman came on board me also and we agreed to sail forthwith to our station, steering hence 25 leagues N.N.E. and then N. unto the station on the east end of the Dogger Bank about the latitude of $55^{\circ} 30'$. And to send out the Milford and Mermaid scouts to make discovery at the Texel and Vlie and so to come to us at our station.

This noon by observation with my own sea quadrant we were in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 41'$. One of the mates had $53^{\circ} 40'$.

About 4 o'clock this afternoon Sir William Penn sent me his instructions signed by the Duke, which are the same in substance with what Sir William Coventry gave me before.

The fleet that I now had in company was 69 sail, viz: of the King's ships, 1st rates—2, 2nd rates—6, 3rd rates—10, 4th rates—29, 5th rates—7, merchantmen—15. Total 69 ships, as above said. One fireship. The fleet wanted 2500 men of what these ships had in them the last engagement, and more.

7th. Friday. At noon we were about 8 leagues from the Texel, bearing S.E. from us. Depth of water 17 fathom. Wind about the N.W. & b.W. This morning the ships brought in an Ostender come from Norway.

8th. Saturday. Turning to and again with the wind veering between the N. and west. A French ship was brought in coming from Danzig bound to St Malo, and the Mermaid returned with news from the Vlie and Texel.

9th. Sunday. At noon we had a fair observation of the sun and by my sea quadrant we were in the latitude of $55^{\circ} 00'$. The master, by the traverse of the ship's course reckons us in $55^{\circ} 05'$, the Texel bearing S., $\frac{1}{2}$ a point westwardly. The wind at N.W.b.W., fresh gale.

10th. Monday. At noon we observed the sun and by my sea quadrant we were in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 30'$. Our master reckons us due north from the Texel 33 leagues, which falls in latitude $54^{\circ} 45'$. This afternoon the Adventure brought in a prize, a Scotch vessel about 90 tons laden with deals, taken by a Dutch caper in St George's Channel and came about by Faroe¹ island and so was going for Flushing.

11th. Tuesday. Fair weather. Early in the morning I called all the commanders of the fleet aboard. To the flag officers I communicated all the intelligence gotten of 7 ships in Flekkerö²

¹ MS. Ferro.

² MS. Fleckery.

(which we had by a vessel brought in this morning, French pretended) and the other former intelligences, and they resolved it at present not fit to prepare any design for Norway, but to stand to the westward and gain upon the Dogger Bank in 20 or 18 fathom and after that into our latitude of $55^{\circ} 30'$. There to expect our ships from England. They advised me to send a 5th rate frigate for Southwold Bay to bring away all the ships thence to our said rendezvous on the Dogger.

This afternoon the wind shifted to the S.W., so I stood on the course resolved, but kept the frigate intended for Southwold by me, because now Southwold was in the very wind's eye. Sir Thomas Clifford, one of the Commissioners for Prizes, put himself aboard my ship this day out of the Swiftsure.

12th. Wednesday. This morning the wind coming again to the N.W., I dispatched away the Milford for Southwold Bay with a packet in pursuance of our resolution yesterday. At noon we had by observation of my sea quadrant our latitude $55^{\circ} 17'$, our depth 18 fathom (on the Dogger Bank as they think). We tacked and lay W.S.W. and 2 hours after had 17 fathom. About which time came in the Eagle from Southwold Bay with a packet.

13th. Thursday. This morning the wind came up to the S. & b.W., fine weather. I called the flag officers aboard by 9 o'clock in the morning and advised what course to take. Besides the flag officers Sir Roger Cuttance and Sir Thomas Clifford were present.

After all our intelligence communicated, and considering the wind, S. & b.W., it was agreed nothing of De Ruyter or East Indiamen could be expected from the northward, that the principal

thing to be intended was the conjunction of the other part of our fleet ; in order whereunto it was resolved that this fleet should ply about the middle of the Dogger Bank to expect the conjunction of the others, and a ketch with an express to be sent for England, to appoint the ships in Southwold Bay to sail to the westward of the middle of the Dogger Bank, when there to range eastward on the bank, until they come about the middle thereof, where they should find the fleet or other orders. In pursuance whereof I wrote the following letter ; having before I sent it read it to the flag officers, who fully approved thereof.

*To the commander in chief of his Majesty's ships
in Southwold Bay.*

Sir,—Since I wrote by the Milford (who parted hence yesterday at noon), I have resolved to ply with the fleet about the middle of the Dogger Bank. Wherefore I send this express, to desire you with that part of the fleet in Southwold Bay, to sail as soon as conveniently may be and endeavour to get to the westward of the middle of the Dogger Bank, and if you do not find us there, then ply to the eastward along the bank, until you come to the middle of it, and all care shall be taken that the fleet join with you thereabouts or further order be left you what to do. The wind being come southwardly, our principal care is to join with you, which I hint for you to have the same in your aim. So I remain,

Your affect. friend and servt.

S.

July 13th, 1665.
On the Dogger Bank in 17 fathom

This letter, with another to Mr Coventry, I

sent in the Eaglet ketch by Pymm express for England this afternoon.

14th. Friday. This morning the Dragon came in to us from Southwold Bay with news that Sir Thomas Allen with 25 sail of ships sailed N.E. wards to join us on Monday night last. All this day was stark calm and very hot. At noon our latitude was (by my sea quadrant) $55^{\circ} 50'$; depth 20 fathom.

At sunset we had a very fair observation of the sun with my azimuth compass and amplitude from west was just $50^{\circ} 00'$.

At nine oclock at night I observed Saturn's altitude $11^{\circ} 43'$, due South, whereby I find our latitude $55^{\circ} 42'$ (agreeing with all the other observations of the ship at noon) and by this I find the variation of the compass here $3^{\circ} 06'$ eastward. The best and truest observation in this kind that ever I made.

15th. Saturday. About noon came in to us the Dragon from Southwold Bay, the Henrietta from Yarmouth and the Success and a ketch from Sir Thomas Allen (then under sail on the Well Bank going towards Flamborough Head and thence to join with us). My Lord of Rochester came in the Success to remain on my ship for the voyage, where I accommodated him with a cabin.

I called a Council of War (by the Standard) and resolved to steer (with a moderate sail) all this night and next day S.W.b.W. to meet Sir Thomas Allen. At this time we reckon Flamborough Head from us S.W.b.W. westwardly, some 48 leagues.

16th. Sunday. At noon our latitude by observation $54^{\circ} 45'$, depth 13 fathom. This morning Capt. Talbot with the Garland came in to us from Southwold Bay and brought Mr Edward

Mountagu on board the Swiftsure as a volunteer this voyage.

17th. Monday. This morning Sir Thomas Allen with 20 sail more of the fleet came in to my company from Flamborough Head, at which time we reckon ourselves 14 leagues off Flamborough Head N.E. eastwardly. Instantly at 6 in the morning I called the flag officers aboard (by the standard) and took into consideration our whole affair. Note that now our fleet was got together wholly, except 2 or 3 ships considerable, and put in the order of battle expressed on the other side.¹

And not having any Intelligence of the Hollands fleet being come to sea, and eyeing the principal service appointed us, to meet De Ruyter or the East India-men in the sea or attempt them in harbour (if there were opportunity), we did think that neither of them would come along the sea until they had a fleet to protect them or the winter come on, and therefore thought to cruise at the east end of the Dogger would be in vain, besides that if they should put it to the adventure to go home, the sea is wide and fogs and nights and the flat coast along the shore of Jutland advantageous for them to escape us by.

Colchester

Centurion

TRIUMPH

Lion

George

Return

¹ This last sentence added in margin. The list is in a secretary's hand. The two names in italics are written more heavily than the rest. The East Indian Merchant appears in the MS. as Endian Merchant.

Katherine
 Monck
 Expedition
 Assistance
 Mathias
 Reserve
 Rainbow
 Revenge
 Hound ROYAL JAMES
 Mary Rose
 York
 Bendish
 Portland
 Providence
 St Andrew
 Exchange
 Constant Catherine
 East Indian Merchant [MS. Endian]
 Kent
 Anne
 RESOLUTION
 Milford
 Prudent Mary
 Marmaduke
 Adventure
 Society
 Foresight
 Dreadnought
 ROYAL KATHERINE
 Forester
 Essex
 Maderas
 Happy Return
 Vanguard
 Mountagu
 Assurance
 Briar PRINCE

Pembroke

Eagle

Mary

Antelope

Breda

John and Thomas

Hambro' Merchant

Swallow

Jersey

Unicorn

Guernsey

HENRY

Dunkirk

Newcastle

Hampshire

Bear

Coast Frigate

Guinea

Royal Exchange

Bristol

Gloucester

Norwich

ROYAL OAK

Dover

Amity

Golden Lion

Loyal George

Plymouth

Success

ROYAL CHARLES

Mermaid

Advice

Old James

Henrietta

Dragon

Fountain

Satisfaction

Eagle
Loyal Merchant
Garland
Portsmouth
Bonaventure
Fairfax
Sapphire
SWIFTSURE
Leopard

We therefore resolved to sail to the Naze of Norway and there inform ourselves what ships of Holland were laid up in their ports and of the nature of those harbours, how we might deal with them if there were occasion. And also, having intelligence of 16 sail of Flemings in Flekkerö (whereof 3 were men of war, 2 West India ships and one from Lisbon, others of lesser note), we designed to take them there, if it could be done with little loss of time and to good effect. In order whereunto the Council of War advised me to prepare a squadron of 12 ships, viz. of 3rd rates 2, 4th rates 6, 5th rates 4—12 in all, to be ready to fall in there as soon as we came to the place, and if we found De Ruyter lodged there, or the East Indiamen with greater strength, then to make another squadron to justify the former.

They advised me to order the ships that should be yet at Southwold Bay to stay there for orders and not come northwards, because there they have a retreat to Harwich or the river, if the enemy should press them, which at Flamborough Head they had not.

If any ships of the frigates that were good sailers came to Bridlington Bay, they advised me to direct them to follow us to the Naze of Norway. If bad sailers, then to go to Tynemouth and there

(not staying above 5 days) take under their convoy for the river all colliers that were ready, and to take men for the fleet out of them.

They advised also that a 5th rate frigate should cruise 3 days in our former station (viz. the East end of the Dogger), to bring unto us such straggling ships as might be seeking of us there.

Further that I should send a person with confidence to Sir Gilbert Talbot at Copenhagen (my Master's envoy) to give notice of my going upon the coast of Norway, and to be prepared in case of any action of ours and to get what assistance unto us he could from the King of Denmark ; permission to enter his ports, help from the Governors of his castles in our attempts upon them, and stopping intelligence overland from Flekkerö to Bergen. This hope we had from a letter of Sir Gilbert Talbot's to the King, that the King of Denmark was ready to declare his treaties broken with the Hollander, but would be glad to take an advantageous time to say it ; which would be when any considerable substance of the Hollanders was lodged in their ports, that then if the English fleet would attempt them by sea he would assist and go half shares in the prize.

This matter I committed to the management of young Mr Worden (who came to stay the voyage as a volunteer with me that morning) and sent him in a ketch to Hamburg so to get to Copenhagen.

Mr Brisbane (who was Deputy Treasurer for Sir George Carteret for the contingencies) I sent with the letters for Bridlington and Southwold Bay and a packet for London, and by Sir George Carteret's appointment my servant William Howes was made Deputy Treasurer for the contingencies.

This evening the Colchester and Capt. Penrose's

ship¹ were foul of one another ; the Colchester lost her head and bowsprit and I sent her to Newcastle to refit.

19th. Wednesday. At noon observed our latitude (by my sea quadrant) $55^{\circ} 42'$. I gave Sir Jeremy Smith his instructions to be ready to the attempt of Flekkerö. Also I appointed the rendezvous for the fleet to be the Naze of Norway if they can fetch it by the 27th day of this month ; after that either Bressay Sound in Shetland or Bridlington as the wind compells us.

21st. Friday. At noon observed our latitude by my sea quadrant, $56^{\circ} 56'$. At night I observed the planet Saturn and by him found our latitude $56^{\circ} 57'$. We suppose about 30 leagues from the Naze of Norway.

This afternoon I called the Council of War aboard (by the Standard). They approved of the rendezvous I had before appointed. Advised me to suspend going tonight towards Flekkerö, but to go and lie eastwards of Stavanger some 12 leagues off and there receive what intelligence I could get from the main ; principally intending what might be done upon the ships at Bergen. The ground of this advice was an intelligence that De Ruyter with a fleet of 60 sail was met off Bergen on the 10th instant and seen some of them to go in.

This afternoon and night and next morning was all stark calm.

23rd. Sunday. Calm all day. I observed our latitude at noon, $57^{\circ} 45'$. At 9 at night by Saturn, $57^{\circ} 53'$.

We got certain news that neither De Ruyter nor the East Indiamen were there at Bergen, but that there was now 28 sail of the Straits and French and Portugal ships of Holland. I called the

¹ The Monk.

Council of War by the Standard. They advised me to send a 5th rate ship and a ketch to Skudesnäs¹ to bring me off what pilots they could get, and wait for their return some 12 leagues due west from Skudesnäs.

This evening we saw the land of Norway plain from the N.E. to the East and by North, about 13 leagues off. We caught several cod fish and ling this day and the day before. Yesterday we had the water of the sea near the ship's side boiling in a circle of some 40 yards diameter and a core in the centre of about 5 yards diameter smooth, so that we thought it was a spout beginning to rise, and so perhaps it was, but it fell calm, that there wanted wind to raise it, and also our ship ran directly through the middle of it, and yet it boiled in a ring still after that.

24th. Monday. Calm all the morning. At noon a gentle gale at North and our latitude by my observation $57^{\circ} 49'$. We had depth 154 fathom, ooze ground. At 9 at night by Saturn our latitude was $58^{\circ} 04'$. And after sunset a Greenland ship fell into us pretending to belong to Hamburg. Said that on Friday last he met in the sea 4 of the Dutch East India Ships and they said there was 8 more of their company parted from them. There was 7 other Greenland ships also in the sea of this man's consorts.

26th. Wednesday. Tuesday was all calm and this morning our ships brought in a galiot that was consort with the Greenland ship and had in him the blubber of 2 whales. The skipper refused to take any oath and utterly denied that he met with any East Indiamen off the Land van Stadt²; yet another man of the ship confessed it and told

¹ MS. Schuytnesse. N.W. of Stavanger.

² See note 2 to p. 205.

many circumstances of their meeting concurrent with the other testimonies.

This morning also the Martin frigate came in to me from Newcastle with some intelligence and a letter from Mr Villiers.

I called a Council of War also by the Standard before noon, where we resolved to prepare a fleet for the attempting the ships in Bergen, viz. of 4th rates 5, 5th rates 4, merchantmen 9—18 in all, besides 2 fireships and 3 or 4 men-of-war ketches. The which I designed in the afternoon and appointed Sir Thomas Teddiman to command the action (putting himself aboard one of the 4th rate frigates).

We resolved also to put the whole fleet to the allowance of 6 to 4 for beer, to begin tomorrow morning.

Afternoon a gale sprang up at N.W. and N.N.W. We stood into the shore until we saw the outseers rocks 5 leagues off us N.E. eastwardly, in the height of $58^{\circ} 25'$ by the new Wagenaar.¹ The wind increased and was stormy and a great sea this night and all next day.

The 26th day De Ruyter with his fleet arrived in the river of Ems near Delfziel, having touched at Bergen the 13th, and so bearing it up along the coast of Norway by contrary winds and calms made Heligoland the 25th and in port *ut supra*.²

28th. Friday. Calm most part of the day, a gale at S.S.W. at evening. About 9 at night I had a very good observation of Saturn and by it

¹ Ut Sire rocks, 40 miles N.W. of Stavanger. These are really in about $59^{\circ} 20'$. Early charts put the whole of the coast near Stavanger about 1° too far south. When off Bergen Sandwich was about right in his latitude. Presumably he was now really well to the south of Stavanger and sighted some other rocks.

² This paragraph added later.

found our latitude $58^{\circ} 21'$. And I took the amplitude by my azimuth compass and found the variation of the needle to be $3^{\circ} 15'$, which observation I take to be with great truth.

29th. Saturday. A southerly gale, rainy and thick, and S.S.W. We steered N.N.W. and at 9 oclock by Saturn observed we were in the latitude of $58^{\circ} 46'$.

30th. Sunday. By 6 in the morning I called together the Council of War and debated whether to send away Sir Thomas Teddiman with his fleet of 22 ships, viz. 1 3rd rate, 8 4th rates, 4 5th rates, 9 merchantmen, 2 fireships and 4 or 5 ketches, towards Bergen to take the best opportunity upon the Dutch ships there harboured, or keep them by us until we sent for pilots and further news from shore and gave them thereupon further directions. And it was agreed and resolved to send them in presently as abovesaid, because our beer was not above 3 weeks in the fleet and unless suddenly, nothing could be attempted. Sir William Penn was against sending this party for Bergen in the first debate and peremptorily for going back with the fleet for the Texel. After the news of the East Indiamen arrived he seemed to concur in it.

Immediately after our resolution a ship was brought in that came out of Bergen on Thursday last and assures us of 10 India ships that are come in there, which was a great satisfaction to us in our former resolution; and this afternoon I sent away Sir Thomas Teddiman and that fleet (from my ship went along with him the voyage the Earl of Rochester, Sir Thomas Clifford, my son Sydney, Mr Steward, Capt Harbord). It blew a hard gale of wind at S. & b.E. all night and next day, when we lay atry with the remainder of the fleet.

31st. Monday. Blew hard at S. & b.E. A

noon very hazy and cloudy, yet we got by the sun our latitude $59^{\circ} 30'$. Storm all day and night. Depth of water 69 fathom.

August 1st. Tuesday. Wind at South, gentle gale; in the night blew hard and rained. About 3 oclock in the afternoon the Forester and Essex came to me and brought me a letter from Sir Thomas Clifford in Sir Thomas Teddiman's fleet dated at 6 oclock on Monday morning last 10 leagues off Cruseford,¹ having gotten 11 pilots aboard and hoped to be up at Bergen that night.

Depth of water 65 fathom; as we judge about 20 leagues east northerly from Bergen.

2nd. Wednesday. Wind at S.E.b.E. fresh gale, rainy weather. Depth of water at 10 oclock in the morning no ground. At noon our latitude by the sun $60^{\circ} 10'$. We thought we saw the land to the eastward, but in a black thick cloud that was uncertain and proved ² the land at last. At 8 at night I judge we were about 10 or 12 leagues from the shore.

3rd. Thursday. Wind south; dirty windy weather. This morning the Reserve's Captain came aboard and said that yesterday he spoke with the Expedition (one of Sir Thomas Teddiman's fleet) 3 leagues off the shore, who said that on Monday 14 or 18 sail of that fleet got into Kors Fjord and that 4 or 5 of them missed their passage and were cruising, turning to windward.

Considering with myself the condition of the fleet, wanting water to a high degree, useless here, not daring to come near a lee shore, which makes us no protection to our friends at Bergen, whose sailing must preserve them, if the Dutch fleet

¹ MS. Cruseford, here and elsewhere.

² The word 'not' written after 'proved' and then crossed out.

come upon them (of whom yet we hear nothing upon this coast). Hopes of fetching Shetland or Scotland yet, but if we drive much more northerly it may be of ill consequence to us. I sent to Sir William Penn and Sir Thomas Allen to know their opinions whether we should sail presently for Shetland with the fleet and send in a 5th rate frigate or two to Bergen to advise all that belong to the fleet thereof.

At noon I had the latitude by the sun $60^{\circ} 30'$. The master, $60^{\circ} 16'$. Counting ourselves about 20 leagues West and by North from Bergen. The captain of the John and Thomas counts Bergen East southerly from us and we off the land about 12 or 14 leagues.

At 5 oclock afternoon I received a letter from Sir Thomas Allen submitting the matter to my conduct. And another from Sir William Penn with his opinion that this night we stand off with a pretty good sail close upon a wind and continue so doing until we get the Council of War together to advise in so weighty a point.

Between 5 and 6 oclock came up to me the John and Thomas (one of Sir Thomas Teddiman's fleet). Says Sir Thomas went in at Kors Fjord on Monday morning about 11 oclock, but stayed within until 6 at night to see if those driven to leeward would come in, of which there were 7, viz. the John and Thomas, Bonaventure, Mary Rose, Expedition, Hambro' Merchant, Constant Catherine, Katherine.

4th. Friday. Wind at S. and S.S.W., handsome weather. In the morning came to me the Hambro' Merchant (one of Sir Thomas Teddiman's fleet), who told me Sir Thomas went in at Stone ford¹ on Monday (which is to the south-

¹ Perhaps Selbö Fjord.

ward of Kors Fjord) and that the Mary Rose, Katherine and Constant Catherine went in at Kors Fjord. This ship says he got 2 pilots from Kors Fjord, but the current set so hard to the northward that he could not fetch to windward enough to go in. Those Danish pilots say that De Ruyter was within a league and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Kors Fjord on Tuesday the 18th of July. That they were aboard him and they spoke of going for Holland to fight the English and stood off to sea W.N.W., the wind then being at S.W. They were 19 sail in number; 4 merchant ships would not stay with him, but went for Bergen. He says De Ruyter's ships were very foul. I suspect this news, because we have spoke with divers come from Bergen since and have not been thoroughly informed of it, though we had a little rumour of it.

This morning I called the Council of War on board. All the flag officers were present (except Sir William Penn, who excused himself by reason of pain and sent me word by Sir Joseph Jordan that the Charles had but 14 days beer and but 3 weeks dry provisions at 6 to 4) and Sir Jeremy Smith and Sir Edward Spragg.

The condition of the fleet and our business was fully considered and at last the resolution was that the fleet forthwith take the advantage of the wind to fetch Shetland or some part of the English or Scotch coast to recruit with liquor. Especially to intend Southwold Bay and to touch about Flamborough Head, if the wind was favourable. A 5th rate frigate to be sent to Bergen to Sir Thomas Teddiman and to advise all ships belonging to the fleet therewith that he should meet at sea.

Accordingly the Eagle was dispatched instantly for Bergen and we stood on to the westward with the fleet.

By the sun we observed our latitude $60^{\circ} 17'$ at noon, about 23 leagues off the shore by Bergen. At 9 at night by the Vulture's Heart the latitude was $60^{\circ} 19'$.

5th. Saturday. At noon our latitude by the sun $60^{\circ} 30'$, when we were within 3 leagues fair by the Isles of Skerries and had the north point of Shetland N.N.W. of us, our depth of water 50 fathom. We then tacked to the S.E. (wind being at S.S.W.) to endeavour to fetch Bressay Sound in Shetland. From yesterday at noon to this noon the wind having been about S.b.W. we ran westwards some 30 leagues.

6th. Sunday. Wind at S.W. and S.S.W. We turned up towards Bressay Sound from the Skerries. It was very gentle gale and delicate weather. We had 50 fathom depth of water, good ground, and the latitude (observed by others) $60^{\circ} 25'$.

7th. Monday. Very fine weather, a breeze at S.b.E. By 8 in the morning we were in the height of Bressay Sound a league or 2 off the headland, where came aboard us Capt. Lightfoot of the Speedwell, who had been convoy to Bressay Sound of Colonel Sinclair the Governor and his soldiers and engineers and was ordered by my Lord Rothes to wait here until the engineers and assistants had laid out their business (which was a main fort and some sconces to secure the harbour of Bressay Sound) and then return with them for England. Capt. Lightfoot told us that on Christmas Day last a Holland East India-man, going out, was cast away upon the Skerries, whence the Admiral of Orkney had got many good things, and also an East India-man came thither and saved many cables and chests and loaded himself home, and that yet there were there many good things and guns to be recovered.

In company of Capt. Lightfoot was a privateer set out by the Duke of Albemarle, commanded by Major Hollis. He met a pink July 20 from Copenhagen, who said he met De Ruyter off the coast of Norway July 18, and Col. Sinclair at Shetland confirms the same from a Norway-man.

This morning we had above 50 fathom water, fine shelly ooze sand.

Major Hollis hath taken an East India dogger of Holland, whose order was to cruise in the Latitude of $60^{\circ} 15'$ to the West North West of Fula to look [for] the East India ships. He came out of Holland July 1st; and was to cruise (as above-said) until the last of August and then, if he met not with them, he was to return home. He had an officer of the East India Company aboard of him, who is instructed, I suppose, what to tell them, but he will reveal nothing.

This evening about 7 oclock I came to an anchor in Bressay Sound in Shetland, and all the fleet with me (except for Sir Thomas Teddiman's part at Bergen).

At noon we had weathered Noss Island and were standing in for Bressay Sound, when we had a most exact observation of our latitude, in several ways, all agreeing it to be $60^{\circ} 03'$.

10th. Thursday. By intelligence since the Dutch fleet, 100 sail, was this day on the Dogger Bank in $55^{\circ} 00'$ and 20 fathom water.

12th. Saturday. Having recruited the fleet with water since we came here (the wind having been southerly ever since our first coming in) and resolved to get out of this harbour with the first opportunity of wind.

This morning the wind was a small breeze at N.E. and my own ships and others that were berthed northward of the point that shuts in

Lerwick town weighed anchor and sailed out a mile or more, but the wind shrinking upon us E.S.E. and very cloudy foggy weather, and half the fleet that rode before Lerwick town not being able to get out, I thought convenient to go in again and expect a better opportunity, and accordingly anchored again in the harbour about noon.

Before I sailed this morning I called aboard the Council of War to deliberate the conduct of the fleet when we should be gotten out to sea. The state of the provisions of the fleet was:—about 13 days beer, about 6 weeks dry provisions, at whole allowance; the fleet growing more sickly every day; divers high spotted fevers.

For intelligence we had not gotten one word from the coast of Norway since we came thence (which is to our admiration that no vessel or ketch came from Sir Thomas Teddiman, unless the winds have been such as they have not been able to fetch this island). Out of the mainland of Shetland we had an advise that divers people had seen a fleet of 50 sail and upwards of great ships standing away N.W., the wind being then at S.E., viz. on Tuesday last. Whereat likewise we wonder, not imagining whether it be the Dutch Armado or De Ruyter or a fleet of Holland Bordeaux men with a convoy, or Sir Thomas Teddiman and our own friends; or whether to question the truth of the report (though affirmed by several of the country).

We considered that it was probable before now (whatever success Sir Thomas Teddiman had) he was already come from Bergen and in the sea. But if he were yet there, it was not adviseable to carry the fleet in this condition over to the Norway coast, whence we might be very long ere we gained

a passage for England, our beer would be spent and our men, when we came to drink this country water would fall down more sickly and disable us for any service, either to help our friends or ourselves.

We considered then whether we should lie by a day or 2 near this island in hopes Sir Thomas Teddiman might come to us, or news from him. This also was thought very hazardous to the carrying home of the fleet (which is of so great importance) not to make use of all advantages of the wind; when also it is possible Sir Thomas Teddiman may be before us, having order to make the best of his way home, and perhaps if he have success may be clogged with some heavy ships that may require it; and indeed with his fleet he would certainly not come here, but of necessity, if the winds drove so far to leeward. Only we wonder further that no vessel is sent from him with intelligence to us.

And if Sir Thomas Teddiman were coming for this place, we going before him and keeping the English coast aboard should clear his way for him and give him near as much security as if we were joined.

But, in truth, though we looked round about us; yet the condition of the fleet is such as sets aside all other considerations, to make us positively steer our course for the coast of England with all industry. And so we resolved. And that order should be left with the Governor here to inform Sir Thomas Teddiman or any vessels of ours that touch here of our course; and also that the Speedwell should ply 3 days in the offing of this island to meet with any of our ships that might look [for] us to inform them of our course; which I presently did effect.

We agreed to sail within 10 leagues of the land of the southward side of the North Frith¹ in Scotland, and if we were separated our rendezvous (as before) Shetland and Flamborough head : only, if we were separated to the northward, then to look into Edinburgh Frith.

During my stay here I made a survey of the harbour of Bressay, pretty exact (as I think), which is apart in a paper.

By enquiry and observation of the island of Shetland I find it a very barren country, mountainous and the hills all boggy (to the very top) 9 or 10 feet deep, then rock. Some of the valleys and edges of it pretty soil for grass and corn, viz. barley and oats. (The barley that I saw was the thick-eared 4-corned barley, indifferent good, but at this present very green, scarce any of it beginning to turn colour.) Not one tree of any sort in all the island nor any sort of game, land-fowl or beasts, except a few conies. The fruits of the island not $\frac{1}{2}$ enough to feed the people of the island the year round, of which there are about 12,000 communicants in 10 parishes. They subsist by corn brought from the Orkneys and Norway and the Dutch. They have boats made in Norway and with them they fish, and by bartering and selling the fish and oil of fishes live they thrive. Cattle and sheep pretty good, but not fat till September. Their breed of horses very small, but strong and handsome divers of them. The principal town is Skelda Voe,² of about 100 poor houses and one pretty stone house of the King's where the Governor resides. Lerwick also in this Sound hath about 80 very poor houses,

¹ Probably the bay leading to the Moray, Cromarty and Dornoch Firths.

² MS. Scola Vo.

but the cottages most miserable, as bad as the dens of most beasts, I believe. The people very civil and well taught, by reason of their ministers, and much commerce with foreigners in the fishing season. They be all Scotch extraction and speak English not in a very broad dialect but such as we pleasantly understand, and also they speak the language of Norway and Jutland and Holland, with whom they converse in the fishing.

Their water very bad and discoloured by the bogs. They have very little frost in this country, scarce so much as will bear a man at any time. In any cloudy weather the clouds fly very low, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a furlong above the ground, perpendicular. Their Government is Presbyterian (as the Scotch). They have no Common Prayer.

13th. Sunday. Wind at North East. I sailed out of Bressay Sound with the fleet. In the entrance of the harbour I met the Sapphire with letters from Sir Thomas Teddiman and Sir Thomas Clifford of very ill success at Bergen; which letters follow.

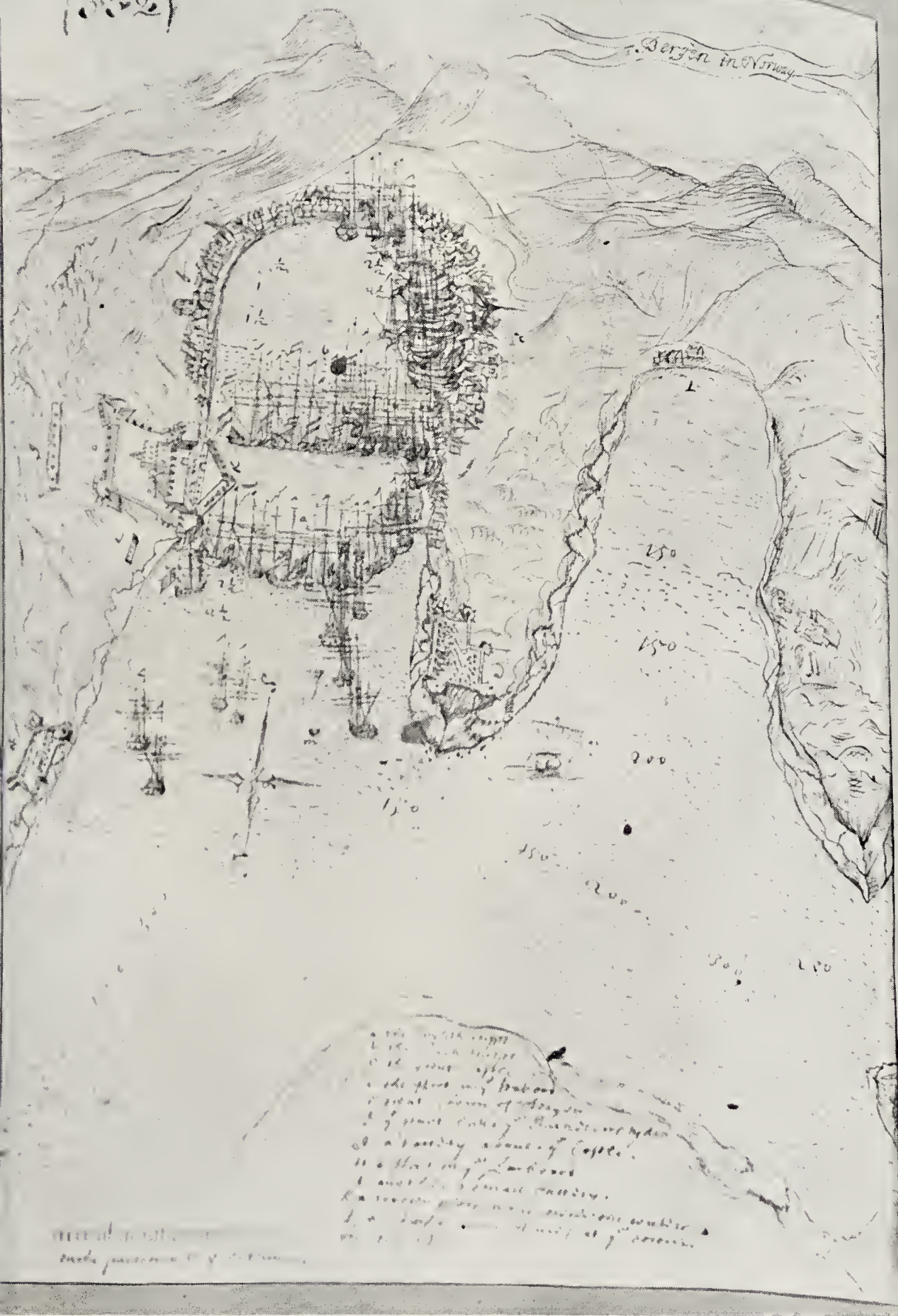
From Sir Thomas Teddiman.

Right Honourable,—These are to acquaint you. That the first of this month by 6 in the afternoon we arrived within the bay, close to the ships that were in the port of Bergen, with the 15 sail of men of war and 2 fireships that were with me, the wind blowing S. & b.E., right out. Immediately I caused all our ships to warp in close to the Dutch ships in the port and under the Castle, on which the General of Bergen (who commanded the Castles and Town) sent me off Monsr Tolor to let me know that I must forbear to warp up any nearer to his port, and that I should not have

brought above 5 men of war in his port. I told him I must bring our ships into safety. He went to and again 5 times ; in the mean time I got 8 sail in a line, and brought our broadsides on the ships in the harbour, which spread from one side to the other, the other 7 I placed against the Castle as well as they could be placed. The General of Bergen desired me to send my reasons why I came so near the Castle and ships in the port, and that he much desired to speak with me and that he would meet me half way, on which I desired Mr Edward Mountagu to go ashore and know the General's reason why he refused to let me have the benefit of the King his master's port, being in amity with the King of Great Britain my master. He sent me word that if I did not put from his port with the men of war only 5, he would fire at me. I sent him word if he did he would be the first aggressor and also that if he did not fire at me, I nor none with me should fire at the forts nor Castle. I would only fire at the ships of the Netherlanders in his port, that are the King my master's enemies. He would have had me stayed 8 days time to consider on the matter and to have received letters from the King his master. At last he desired me to stay but 4 days time ; then he would have given me his positive answer. I finding him to delay and went on fortifying himself, at 5 in the morning the 2nd instant I began to fire at the East India ships in the port, on which all the Castles and forts fired at me ; then I returned them thanks and not before. They had in the Castle and forts upward of 300 guns mounted, besides the East India ships in the port. The dispute lasted 3 hours and a half, the wind right out of the port, that for my heart I could not get the fireships in, there being so many guns placed

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Bergen in Norway



THE ACTION AT BERGEN.
From Sandwich's Journal.

on me, that cut to pieces our cables, so that we had like to have drove foul one of another. The wind blew right out, being at South, the worst place that ever men came to; no anchoring without the buoy, so that we were constrained to come to this place to secure our ships, which I bless God brought safe off to Gjelte Fjord,¹ 5 leagues from Bergen. There was no place nearer than this to anchor in, from whence we came. There we have fitted our masts and repaired ourselves as well as we could there do it. Our ships are much shattered and torn. We have lost 6 captains, Seale, Haward, Lawson, Utbar, Cadman and Pierse² and aboard of me Mr Ed. Mountagu and Mr Jo Windham. There is killed and wounded in our squadron upwards of 400 men. Thursday the 10th instant at 8 this morning we came all out of Gjelte Fjord, the 15 men of war that were with me at Bergen and the Mary Rose, Constant Katherine, Exchange, John and Thomas, and the Eagle who brought your Lordship's letter to me. We have had several treaties since our engagement with the Governor of Bergen, for which I refer your Lordship to Sir Thomas Clifford's letter. We hear that the Dutch fleet was not come out on Friday last, by a Dane that came to Bergen; but there was a Hollands galiot that came to Bergen that reported he saw the Dutch fleet out the Saturday following, viz. the 5 instant. I have sent the Edward and Eve ketch to give your Lordship account that we are going towards Bridlington Bay to join with your Honour. We have 6 or 7 ships that must go

¹ MS. Jelliford.

² Of the Breda, Prudent Mary, Coast Frigate, Guernsey, Hambro' Merchant and Briar. The Hambro' Merchant does not seem to have been engaged, so the death of her captain needs explanation.

in to be repaired (God sending us to Southwold Bay) that are very defective in masts and hull. I hope to be suddenly with your Honour and give you a full account of all passages that has been, Mr Sydney Mountagu (God be praised) is well in health, who presents his humble duty to your Honour. I remain

your — — —¹

THOS. TEDDIMAN.

Revenge. August 12. 1665.
The southward part of Shetland
bearing from me W. & b.N. 22 leagues.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

My Lord,—Immediately upon our repulse at Bergen both Sir Thomas Teddiman and myself dispatched a packet to you, but the ketch not finding the fleet returned again to us and we forbore to send them now, because we have greater probabilities of finding your Lordship at Flamborough Head, whither we are now making our course. But, in short, the Castle and forts made the place too hot for us. We have had wounded and killed near 400 men, 6 captains (ut supra). We had before and after several treaties with the General and Governor of the Castle, the particulars of which with a perfect account of every transaction we preserve for your Excellency. Two days before we came from thence the General had a dispatch from the King of Denmark and we one from Sir Gilbert Talbot, that there should be a connivance from the Castles and forts at our attacking the Dutch. We pressed not only that, but some assistance also, considering how we had been disabled by means of the Castles and forts ;

¹ An illegible scrawl.

but they were so far from yielding to this, that they gave us such rules and conditions in the assaulting of the Dutch, that none but madmen would attempt it the second time ; for if we should drive them from their ships, yet we must be under the power of their Castles, how we are to dispose of them. But we reserve this whole account till we meet your Excellency and we hope we shall do so at Bridlington Bay. We left the rocks of Norway about 8 of the clock Thursday morning the 10th instant. We take this course to Flamborough Head because 7 or 8 of our ships are so much disabled that they are not fit for service without reparations and we may join there with the ships that are left behind and then come to your Excellency as you shall appoint.

We had certain news at Bergen, that upon Friday the 4 instant the Dutch fleet were not come out of the Texel, but one of the Dutch galiots says that upon Saturday the 5th they came out with 120 sail. That Van Tromp was Admiral and that de Witt is in the fleet. I am,

your — — —¹

THO. CLIFFORD.

14th. Monday. Our depth 60 fathom and by a good observation our latitude $58^{\circ} 28'$. The wind E.N.E. Our course yesterday and today S.b.E. In the afternoon a Council of War that advised against sending for the ships in Southwold Bay to meet us at Bridlington for fear of danger in missing us and falling foul of the Dutch fleet etc.

15th. Tuesday. This morning the Portland frigate plying to the Eastward discovered a fleet of 30 sail of ships (as he says) standing to the

¹ Again a mere scrawl.

northward, bearing from us about E.N.E. or N.E. at noon, 16 leagues off. Whether the Dutch or Sir Thomas Teddiman uncertain, but we stood on our course S.b.E. and I ordered 2 frigates to fall astern of the fleet so far as not to lose company, and as they saw anything to bring me notice and make signals as they came.

At noon an excellent observation of our latitude, $56^{\circ} 57'$. Wind at N.E.

16th. Wednesday. Wind North. Depth 45-50 fathom. Latitude $55^{\circ} 16'$. Hazy. I sent the Garland to Tynemouth with letters to Colonel Villiers, Governor of that Castle and to the Duke of Albemarle by the Newcastle post. At 4 oclock it was less haze and little wind from noon. Then we saw Tynemouth Castle plain, W.S.W. 4 leagues off in 35 fathom. At 8 I had a letter from Sir William Coventry signifying the Duke of York to be at York, in order to the prevention of disturbance by the fanatics, and that De Ruyter was come into the river of Ems. Calm all night. Major Smith said he heard from shore that there died in London the last week of the plague 3000.¹

17th. Thursday. At 8 in the morning 30 fathom, a small breeze at north. In the afternoon calm, and fog at night. I anchored in sight of Scarborough Castle 4 leagues off shore in 32 fathom.

18th. Friday. Wind fresh at S.S.W. Flam-borough Head from us 4 leagues, S.W.b.W. Sir Thomas Teddiman and his fleet in sight at 8 oclock, fair by us, under sail. The Yarmouth and Princess with a convoy from the Sound of 14 sail laden with tar and cordage arrived at Bridlington Bay this morning.

¹ This sentence added in margin.

About 11 o'clock Sir Thomas Teddiman's fleet came to us, and himself, Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Rochester etc. came on board me. I entreated Sir Thomas Clifford to go to the King and Duke, to give them more full satisfaction of passages in the fleet. The Drake appointed to carry him to Hull, where the Duke then was.

At noon came Mr Woorden aboard from the Yarmouth frigate from Copenhagen, where I had sent him July 18. All that the King of Denmark would order in favour of us was sent to his Governors 3 or 4 days before he arrived at Copenhagen, which was on the 26 of July. Nothing added after his arrival.

19th. Saturday. Wind S.W. We stood southward.

20th. Sunday. Wind S.W.b.W. Southwold west of us 18 leagues. At 7 in the morning we tacked and lay with the stem N.W.b.W. Fresh gale, fair weather, and anchored all night (the ebb) in 25 fathom. The afternoon was rainy, but little wind.

21st. Monday. Wind East. We weighed and came to an anchor in Southwold Bay at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Thence I wrote to the Duke of Albemarle to Whitehall for men and provisions, and to Mr Pepys.

22nd. Tuesday. Sir Thomas Allen (Adml. of the Blue Flag) was put ashore dangerously sick. Wind Southerly.

23rd. Wednesday. Wind Southerly, a little wind.

24th. Thursday. Calm and fog till evening, and then a small gale N.b.W. Mr Knight, the King's chirurgeon, was aboard me and says August 17 that week's bill was 3880 died of the Plague in London.

25th. Friday. } Foggy and the wind north
26th. Saturday. }
and eastwardly.

27th. Sunday. Wind southerly, dirty weather. This day I had divers packets from London; amongst others news of my son Hinchinbrooke's having the small pox at my Lady Wright's and hopes of his recovery, 12 days of the disease being well over.

The bill this week of the Plague was 4237 dead of the Plague in London and all the adjacent parishes.

28th. Monday. The Sovereign came in to us from the Gunfleet. Sir Jeremy Smith returned from Harwich sick, and the day following was put ashore at Lowestoft for his recovery.

I called aboard the Council of the Flags, and having taken into the fleet about 15 days beer and beverage (Dry provisions we had sufficient to the middle of November) and finding more supplies would not come so fast as we should expend it, but principally considering the opportunity of meeting the Dutch fleet in their return from Norway, would be lost if we made any long stay, we weighed anchor with the fleet this afternoon and stopped again 2 or 3 leagues off to bring off all that belonged to us from the shore.

29th. Tuesday. In the morning I called a General Council of War of all the Captains and took their advice for our station and rendezvous, which was agreed thus:—Our station to be on the Dogger Bank in 50° 00' of latitude, between N.b.W. and N.N.W. from the Texel. In case of any ships separating from us before we had sailed hence 10 days, that they should repair to Flamborough Head (where we might send for them by any ketch to join with us on the Dogger). If the

separation was after we had been out 10 days, then they should repair to Southwold Bay (for it was supposed our short provisions and the season of the year would not permit the fleet to keep the sea much longer).

If the wind came eastwardly or southerly we meant to haul in to the bearing of our station within 15 leagues of the Texel, but if the wind was westerly, then to keep more to windward. When we were in our station, or otherwise if the wind was stormy northerly or southerly, we agreed it was best to keep under sail, but if the wind was westwardly and stormy or foggy we mean to anchor as the best means to preserve the fleet from separating and to avoid the danger of being embayed about Hamburg or to have the enemy's country a lee shore at this hazardous season of the year.

The wind was this day N.b.W., blew hard, so that we could not weather the Texel, if we had put to sea, besides the danger of separating southerly, contrary to our design and into dangerous ground for our deep ships. So we rode fast. In the afternoon Sir Henry Bellasis came on board this ship for the voyage, in the Colchester from Hull.

At the Council of War I did admonish the commanders of some ships for our advantage in fighting and sailing ¹ :—

In order to fighting :—

1. To be in their place according to the order of battle, at the first if possible.

2. If they were hindered of that by any accident, then to be sure to put themselves in a

¹ This paragraph and the following instructions added in margin.

line anywhere, to have their broadsides to the enemy.

3. In tacking and sailing in time of fight to have especial care of falling foul one of another, which is the great occasion of destruction.

4. If by accident they be out of the line, take heed not to fire at the enemy through our friends, but watch an opportunity to have the enemy clear.

5. We meeting now with a mixed fleet of men-of-war, East Indiamen etc., no man to seize a merchant until victory obtained for certain.

In order to sailing :—

1. Give good berth, to avoid disabling our ships by tacking or falling foul.

2. Take special heed not to lose company of the fleet, which whoso does shall justify himself at a Court Martial.

3. None to chase but by order of the Flag ; the contrary to be examined at a Court Martial.

4. Sail in such an order as you may most readily fall into the posture of battle.

30th. Wednesday. Wind at N.W. We weighed anchor bound for our station with the fleet in the schedule annexed, to which also is added a list of the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, Mynheer de Witt being on board representing the States of Holland in great equipage (This de Witt is now the ruling man in Holland, of more power than ever single person was there, on whose interest the war or peace depends, whilst the Government is undisturbed by the common people, whose great support is the King of France). They report also that De Ruyter is gone to them in person and hath the chief command of the whole fleet.

This day I sent the Duke's yacht into the shore

ENGLISH FLEET, SEPTEMBER 1665 271

to deliver packets to both courts and to the Duke of Albemarle at London.¹

This 13th. September 1665 :—

A List of His Majesty's Fleet under the Command of His Excellency, The Earl of Sandwich. Viz.

The Red Squadron.

Ships	Men	Guns	Captains
Prince	700	90	Sir Roger Cuttance
Henry	430	70	Sir George Ayscue
Royal Katherine	450	70	Sir Thomas Teddiman
Royal Sovereign	900	92	Sir Jeremy Smith
Unicorn	320	56	Henry Teddiman
Vanguard	320	56	Robert Moulton
Mountagu	300	58	Henry Fenn
Mary	300	58	John Cox, Capt. John Hart
Dreadnought	280	58	Henry Terne
Dunkirk	260	54	John Hayward
Essex	260	52	John Utbar
Princess	220	52	Peter Monsom ²
Jersey	190	48	Hugh Hide
Hampshire	160	40	George Batts
Swallow	180	46	Richard Hodges
Newcastle	200	48	Thomas Page
Antelope	180	46	John Chichley
Adventure	150	36	Benjamin Young
Assurance	150	32	Thomas Guy
Bear	170	45	John Stuard
Marmaduke	150	38	John Best
Charles V.	220	50	Gerrard White
Delft	160	40	Abraham Ansley
Pembroke	145	28	Richard Cotton
Oxford	135	24	James Carteret
Pearl	145	22	Hugh Seymour

¹ The following lists are in a secretary's hand. The heading to the Dutch list and the note as to their losses are in Sandwich's own writing.

² Mootham in the Pepysian List.

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Ships	Men	Guns	Captains
Eagle	135	26	John Stansby
Forester	145	28	Richard Country
John and Thomas	200	44	Henry Dames
Hambro' Merchant	170	36	Roger Strickland
Maderas	180	42	Thomas Smith
Society	160	36	Ralph Lashels
Bull	160	36	— Gethings

Fireships

Bryar	45	12	Joseph Pain
Spread Eagle	40	10	William Sealle

The White Squadron.

Ships	Men	Guns	Captains
Royal Charles	500	78	Sir William Penn
Swiftsure	380	60	Sir William Berkeley
Royal Oak	450	76	Sir Joseph Jordan
Old James	380	68	John Kempthorn
St George	360	60	John Coppin
Gloucester	280	58	Robert Clark
Fairfax	300	58	Robert Salmon
Henrietta	300	58	Walter Wood
Plymouth	280	56	John Jefferyes
Leopard	240	54	Martin Carslake
Bristol	300	48	Phillip Bacon
Advice	170	40	William Poole, Capt. Bradford
Dover	170	46	Jeffery Pearse
Guinea	150	36	Thomas Room Coy1
Amity	150	36	John Parker
Portsmouth	160	38	Robert Moon ¹
Dragon	160	39	Thomas Cotterel
Diamond	180	46	John King
Yarmouth	190	52	Thomas Ayliff
Hilverson	260	60	John Hubbard
Zealand	260	46	John Whatley
Clovetree	260	62	Richard May
Milford	145	28	John White
Mermaid	145	28	Jeffery Grant
Success	155	30	Nepthali Ball
Golden Lion	200	42	William Dale

¹ Mohun in the Pepysian List.

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Ships	Men	Guns	Captains
Loyal Merchant	210	42	John Fortescu
Satisfaction	180	46	William Godfrey
Eagle	220	44	Thomas Hendra
Loyal George	190	42	John Earl
Coast Frigate	150	38	William Trahern
John and Katherine	150	32	Simon Sadd

Fireships

Greyhound	70	16	William Flaws
Hare			— Ditty

The Blue Squadron.

Ships	Men	Guns	Captains
Royal James	500	78	Sir Thomas Allen
Triumph	380	66	Sir Christopher Myngs
Resolution	300	58	John Harman
Rainbow	320	56	Willoughby Hannum
St Andrew	360	60	Valentine Pyne
Revenge	280	58	John Hart
York	280	58	John Swanley
Anne	280	58	Richard Beech
Monk	260	54	Thomas Penrose
Lion	260	52	Sir Edward Spragg
Portland	180	46	John Aylett
Centurion	180	46	Daniel Keeling
Kent	180	46	Thomas Ewens
Reserve	170	46	John Terwhitt
Assistance	170	40	Zachary Brown
Mary Rose	190	48	Thomas Darcy
Expedition	140	30	Tobias Suckler
Ruby	180	46	William Jennings
Providence	140	30	— James
Matthias	260	54	John Hubbard
Mars			Bartimas Cable
Young Prince	180	36	— —
Colchester	120	22	John Hannum
Exchange	170	36	Samuel Wentworth
Constant Catherine	180	40	Robert Sanders
Katherine	160	36	— —
East India Merchant	160	40	John Willgress
Return	190	40	— —
George	180	40	Robert Tubb
John and Abigail	160	40	— —

Fireships

William
Little Unicorn
Hound

William Bass
John Kelsey
James Coleman

List of the Dutch Fleet¹ :—

1 Esquadre onder de Heer Cornelius Tromp.

Tromp, Admirael	De Liefde	74	340
Van der Hulst, Vice Adm.	Amsterdam	68	290
Jan de Liefde, Schout by N.	Groot Hollandia	70	254
Hendrick Vroom	't Raethuis van Haerlem	48	200
Nicholas Marrevelt	Stavoren	48	200
Hendrick Tol	Duyvenvoort	48	205
Jan de Haen	Stadt en Omlanden	56	265
Peter Vuytenhout	Groeningen	48	200
Jacob Willemsz Broeder	Dom van Utrecht	48	200
Quyrin van Berkhof	Berkhout	40	196
Adrian van Veen	Asperen	36	140
Jacob Adriansz Swart	't Huys van Groeningen	48	255
Jan van Bakenburg	Overyssel	36	140
Joost Verchum	't Zuyderhuys	50	214
Jan Adriansz Bankert	Delft	34	131
Laurence Davids	Batavia	44	200
Peter Karseboome	Zeelandia	40	180
Hendrick Goscus	De Vreede		
Adrian Berkhout	Princess Royael	48	205
†Claes Ancker	Guelderland	40	196
Cornelis de Boer	De Wakende Boey	56	264
Jan van Amstell	De Vryheyt	56	254
Jacob Wiltschut	Harderwicke	48	290
Dirck Schey	Oosterwyck	38	140
Joost Hermansz Sclant	Tergoes	70	340
Jurian Juriensz Poel	Delfland, O.C.	46	185
Cornelis Mits	De Beurs, O.C.	36	144
Cornelis Tomasz	De Star	18	80
Nicholas Naelhout	De Loopende Hart	60	250
Floris Florisz	Grooten Harder	60	250
Commer Gerritz	Lupaert	44	200

¹ This list is printed, as far as possible, as written in the MS.

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Thomas Tobias	Kleyne Hollandia	36	148
Lieve van Hasevelt	Herderin	44	200
Jan Adolfsz	Charitas	44	200
Nieuhof	Schager Roose	38	150
Van de Voorde	Zeelandia	36	150
Dodelar	Delft	46	210
De Vries	Harderwyck		
4 Branders, 4 Jachten			

2 Esquadre onder de Heer Cornelis Evertz.

Cornelis Evertz, Admirael 't Hof van Zeeland		58	313
Adrian Bankert, Vice Adm.	Der Veer	50	230
Cornelis Evertz de Jonge, S.b.N.	Utrecht	50	236
Jan Clant	Schiedam	30	140
Peter Salomons	Campen	48	205
Otto Treslong	Gouda	48	205
Philip Alemonde	Dordrecht	46	208
Francois Mideck	Rotterdam	46	202
Jacob Adriansz Penze	Middelburgh	46	310
Adam Bonman	Grooten Harder	34	150
Willem van Berg	De Vreede	40	156
Jacob Peteys	Schakerloo	20	125
Simon Blocke	Westkappel	40	180
Adrian Houteyn	't Wapen van Medemblik	46	248
Jan Mattysz	De Steden	36	160
Adrian Cryning	Tergoes	34	150
Huybert Jacobsz Huyg	De Briel	30	140
Christian Elders	Utrecht	36	163
Willem Bowdewins	De 3 Helden Davids	50	200
Adrian de Haese	Dort	44	200
Claes Cornelisz Daelen	Zeeridder	36	200
Peter Brouser	Swoll	30	140
Cornelis Slort	Josua	50	150
Willem Canter	Delft	34	131
Willem Marinis	Zeeridder	32	140
Laurens Bruyn	De Fortuyne	18	80
Engel Jansen	Vlasboom	40	280
† Jacob Senten	Middelburg	44	200
Jan Quyrins	Ylst	36	121
Simon Lonke	Jonge Prins	30	160

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Gerrit Cornelis Posthorne	Diefhoeke	12	48
Jan Petersz Tant	't Wapen van Leiden	26	150
3 Jachten, 3 Branders			

3 Esquadre onder de Heer Tjerck Hiddes.

†Tjerck Hiddes, Admirael	Sevenwolden	70	300
Coenders, Vice Admirael	Omlandia	50	235
Brunsvelt, Schout by N.	Albertina	50	250
Thomas Fabricius	Jaersvelt	52	220
Adrian Simonsz Vader	Steden	54	253
Cornelis Hogenhoeck	Vereenigde Provinciën	53	220
Jan Jansen Veselaer	Westergo	54	250
Eland De Bois	Kasteel van Medemblik	30	140
Graef	Tydtverdryf	62	260
Barent Hals	't Wapen van Leyden	26	120
Heyn Brower	Kleynen Herder	30	130
Jacob Philipsen	Zutphen	40	180
Seger Graef	Frisia	40	205
Jan Crock	Josua	50	260
Hendrick Akro	Vollenhoven	26	120
David Vlugh	De Vergulde Son	44	200
Hendrick Vollenhoven	Eenhorn	32	150
Cornelis Vichstoll	Guelderlant	56	264
†Albert Piersen de Boer	Westfriesland	50	260
Gerrit Bois	Hollandsche Tuyn	56	237
†Peter Wynberge	Groeningen	44	205
Gillis Costerron	Postillion	40	205
Barent Hiddes	Hollandia	40	136
†Joost Michielsen	't Huys te Sweeten, O.C.	70	200
J. de Hilkesen	Pheasant	38	150
†Carsten Cruynsz Vechter	St Paulus, O.C.	40	200
†Simon Jansen	De Hoope	44	180
Jan Raep	Staveren	48	240
3 Branders, 3 Jachten			

In 96 Ships, 4131 Guns, 18953 Men.

Besides the De Vreede and Harderwyck—no account of their men and guns.¹ And Branders ten, yachts ² ten.

† Taken and destroyed by the Earl of Sandwich, Sept. 3 and 9, 1665, and 2 branders set on fire and 2 taken.

¹ They carried respectively 48–205 and 46–200.

² MS. Yauches.

31st. Thursday. Wind N.W. and more northerly. Blew a mere storm, insomuch as we could make but an east north east way, and 6 at night (being on the White Water some 15 leagues from the Texel) we tacked to the southward. Blew hard all night. In this bad weather the Sovereign by a leak wetted 40 barrels of powder and the Diamond lost her bowsprit, foremast and main topmast, and I sent her into Harwich and took out 40 men.

September 1st. Friday. In the morning wind at W.N.W., a topsail gale. At noon we were about 14 leagues from Southwold E.N.E. Then tacked and stood to the northward. Calm all night. In the evening the Hector came in to us from Dover with Captain Ferrars, my son Sydney being left in Kent at Scotts Hall with my Lady Carteret.

2nd. Saturday. Wind at S.E. fine gale. We stood away N.N.E.

3rd. Sunday. Wind S.E. fresh. In the morning we saw 7 or 8 strange ships ahead and sent frigates to chase. About 10 oclock we reckon ourselves 30 leagues from the Texel, N.N.W., in 24 fathom. In the evening we took them, viz. : 2 great East Indiamen and 4 men of war ; 1300 prisoners. The Hector of ours sunk by a shot, or his lee ports neglected ; the Captain and near 80 men drowned. (Capt. Cox of the Mary half his foot taken off with a great shot.) I took the advice of Sir Thomas Teddiman, Capt. Fenn, Capt. Moulton, Sir Roger Cuttance (then on board me at sunset) and by their opinions tacked with the fleet to the westward and ran W.S.W. about 6 leagues.

4th. Monday. Early in the morning (wind S.b.E.) I called a Council of War and by their advice stood all day towards the N.E., when we

gathered in the Mary, Plymouth and divers of our separated ships and prizes, of which we got a ship from Lisbon, another from the Straits and one from Malaga, and 3 or 4 other small vessels. This evening the Pembroke came to me from Yarmouth side and brought me word he saw the Dutch fleet of war on Sunday last at 6 in the evening between the Well Bank and the White Water, some 18 leagues W.N.W. from the Texel. That they were in number about 80 sail. He also saw a Straits¹ ship of the Dutch burn and blow up in the sea, that was forced to it by the Ruby's chasing her and near taking her.

5th. Tuesday. Morning calm. A Council of War to man and secure our prizes, and agreed that 6 of our merchant ships attend upon them and keep together as a squadron, to sail as near as may be always on the Admiral's starboard quarter. In time of fight to keep on the Admiral's quarter on the off gage from the enemy. In case of separation to make for Hosely Bay and there take pilots and go to Sheerness, there to wait orders. In case of imminent danger, to take the men out of the prizes and burn or sink them. In case of driving northerly separated, to go to Grimsby road or the next more secure place.

A packet to the K., D. and Gen. sent to Bridlington by the ketch.²

6th. Wednesday. Wind at S.W.b.S., a hard gale. This morning we were on the Dogger Bank in 12 or 13 fathom; then stood southwards. At noon we had a handsome observation of the sun and found our latitude $54^{\circ} 36'$.

In the evening came in to us 3 of our merchant

¹ Sandwich originally wrote 'East India' instead of 'Straits.'

² This paragraph added in margin.

ships of the fleet from the Downs, viz. the Loyal Subject, the William, the John and Margaret. These say they were close by the Dutch fleet, who now bear from us South about 15 leagues off. And we now reckon ourselves from the Texel S.E. a little southerly, about 34 leagues off. We stand all night S.E.'ly, making a E.S.E. way, some 3 leagues a watch.

7th. Thursday. Morning calm. At noon the wind sprang up northerly, a small breeze. At 8 at night by the stars we had our latitude $54^{\circ} 15'$; the Texel from us S.S.E. southerly.

I saw a bill from London ending August 25 for one week in which there died of the plague 6102 persons, and 1000 more of other diseases.

8th. Friday. Morning calm. At noon a N.W. little breeze. Our latitude $53^{\circ} 39'$. At 3 oclock afternoon I called a Council of the Flag Officers and agreed to lie by all this night (having had notice that 70 sail of the Hollanders was between us and the Texel and 45 sail about 10 leagues to the N.E. ward from us) and indeed it was so calm we could not sail. Also we resolved not to chase further to the eastward than until we bring the Texel S.S.E./N.N.W. of us, nor nearer the shore than 12 leagues.

And further that if in 4 days time we do not encounter the enemy or be led by other intelligence than at present; that then we lose no opportunity of seizing¹ the English coast about Southwold Bay. For in 4 days time we judge we must meet with some of these scattered parcels of their fleet, or they (being none of them 20 leagues from home) will by that time be gone into port, and our stay in the sea at this time of year unnecessarily may be of very ill consequence to the great ships and prizes.

¹ MS. seasing.

9th. Saturday. At break of day we saw 15 sail of Hollanders ahead to leeward and chased them, and about 9 oclock in the morning took of them 4 men of war, one of 70 guns, the other 3 of 40 guns and upwards; in them 931 prisoners, two West Indiamen and 5 or 6 other flyboats and vessels, and one of their fireships burnt. I called a Council of War at noon and resolved to stand westward (the wind being about S.W.b.W.) and we were within 10 leagues of the Texel from us S.S.E.

As we stood off we met 30 sail and upward of Hollanders standing to the southward, one a Vice Admiral, Bankert.¹ These set on fire one of their own branders. They weathered us about 2 leagues $4\frac{1}{2}$ of the clock. Some of our scattering ships passed through them and in the pass Capt. Langhorn of the Revenge was killed. We did not think reasonable to tack after these and engage them, because the night was all misly and thick weather, and besides chasing them would have drawn us too near a lee shore, and if we had tacked in the night endangered a huge separation of our fleet.

3rd. } September. Taken this last expedition :
9th. }

Men of War.²

Home d'Swyten	70 guns
Seven Woods	56
W. Freisland	50
Black Eagle	50

¹ The name has been added later. It should have been Van Nes (see p. lxviii). The next sentence is added in margin.

² This list, in a secretary's writing, is inserted between Sept. 7th and 8th. It is printed as written.

Gelder de Ruiter	46	
St Paul of Anchusen	44	burnt
St Paul of Middelburg	40	
Hope	40	
A Fireship		

East Indiamen

Golden Phoenix, V.A.	
Slothony, R.A.	900 tons.

Other Merchantmen Taken.

A Flyboat with provisions for the Dutch fleet, 2/3 unladen	400 tons
One with oil from Galiopli Burthen	300
The Abraham Bonaventure, taken by De Ruyter 7 months ago at St Kitts, Tobacco and Sugars. Not seen since Saturday	100
Lisbon Merchant	450
Old Hermit of Horn, laden with salt from Bordeaux	200
An Anchusener with Spanish wine and salt	100
Hope of Middelburg from St Christophers	220
Snook of Amsterdam, empty, bound to Bergen	50
Milk of the Fly, a Victual, in her but 50 hogsheads of beer.	
Charity of Amsterdam, sugars and cotton from the Creeby Islands	200
A Straits Man	
Malaga man	
A vessel with 150 barrels of powder, shot etc for De Ruiter	

10th. Sunday. Yesternight the wind veered North and N.N.E. and blew hard with thick weather. We stood South west for Southwold, and all this day it blew hard and in the evening a powerful storm, so much as blew our foresail and fore topsail quite out of the bolt-ropes, and a great sea.

11th. Monday. Continued to blow hard North and N.N.W., but not so violent as in the night before. About 5 in the evening we made Yarmouth steeple and about 7 anchored thwart of Southwold some 5 miles off, about 80 sail in number. We wanted many, and all the flags of the other 2 squadrons except the Rear Admiral of the Blue.

12th. Tuesday. Wind N.N.E., hard gale, fair weather. We see many sails coming in to us out of the sea. This day my Lord Rochester went away with a packet to the King and Sir Henry Bellasis with a packet to the Duke of York.

13th. Wednesday. Wind N.E. I weighed anchor and sailed (with all the 1st and 2nd rate ships, Dutch ships and merchantmen, and all the prizes) unto the buoy of the Nore, where I came to an anchor about sunset. Most of the frigates I sent to Hosely Bay under the command of Rear Admiral Harman. And I do not hear of any ship of the fleet or prizes missing.

Deo Gratias.

APPENDIX

I

MOUNTAGU'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO COPENHAGEN.

(Sandwich MSS. Letters from Ministers etc.
Vol., I. ff. 16 *et seq.*)

RICHARD P.

Instructions to be put in execution by Edward Lord Mountagu, General and Commander of Our Fleet.

[Preliminary paragraph explaining the state of affairs between Denmark and Sweden and ending as follows :—] And having on these grounds sent a Fleet towards those parts the last winter, which in respect of the season of the year was not able to perfect the intended voyage. *We have now judged it necessary upon the same grounds and to the same ends as are above expressed to send a Fleet under your control and command into the Sound and Baltic Sea.* [The sentence in italics crossed out and replaced in Mountagu's writing by the following :—] and having communicated to both our houses of Parliament now assembled at Westminster the condition of affairs in those parts and how much the interests of these nations are concerned therein and received their resolution and advice thereupon. We in pursuance thereof and upon the grounds before expressed and to the same ends have thought it necessary to send a fleet under your conduct and command into the Sound and Baltic Sea.

You are, therefore, on the receipt of these Our Instructions and of the other papers herewith delivered, to repair to Our Fleet prepared for this expedition [a list

whereof is hereunto annexed—*added by Mountagu*] and upon your coming aboard you shall (by God's blessing and assistance) with your first opportunity of wind and weather, set sail for the parts aforesaid, and having come thither shall follow and pursue the Instructions following, viz.

[Instructions summarised :—]

1. Communicate with Meadows and with the envoy to the King of Denmark and find out the state of affairs.

2. Communicate with both Kings saying you are ready to mediate.

3. If negotiations for a treaty have begun, help them on. If not, propose the terms of the Treaty of Roeskilde (altered as necessary) and say you will have to use force against the side which refuses these terms.

4. If a treaty is under way, arrange for an armistice and insist that no Brandenburgers are to be shipped to the Danish island and no 'relief of men or shipping be put into Copenhagen.'

5. Let the King of Denmark know that, as soon as this treaty is under way, we will try to compose the differences of the King of Sweden with Poland and Brandenburg. But agreement between Sweden and Denmark first is essential.

6. 'Deal very seriously with the King of Sweden touching his present war in Denmark.' Anyone who helps him may be involved in war with Holland etc. 'being a war which at this time this nation is in no condition to engage in, nor is the Parliament now sitting satisfied so to do.' If he will not agree to peace, we cannot help him. If the Dutch will say the same to Denmark, all will be well.

7. If the King of Denmark refuses the terms, tell him we shall have to help Sweden.

8. If so, act as follows.

9. Either alone or with the Swedish fleet prevent Brandenburgers from being brought into the Danish islands.

10. If the Danish or any other fleet attack the Swedes,

‘ you shall use the force which God shall give you to defend him.’

11. Keep Copenhagen blockaded. ‘ And are also empowered to authorise *such number of the fleet as you shall judge necessary under the flag of Sweden to join with the fleet of Sweden to pursue* and assault his enemy. [Words in italics added by Mountagu to replace a sentence mentioning ‘ any of your fleet not exceeding the number of (*blank*) ships.’]

12. Try to arrange with the commander of the new Dutch fleet that he shall keep outside the Sound. If he insists on going on to join the fleet already there or to relieve Copenhagen etc., ‘ you shall in any of these cases, by way of assistance to the Swede, use your force for the hindering thereof.’

13. If the new Dutch fleet is there first, try to come to an agreement with its commanders, but if he tries to transport Brandenburgers ‘ you shall oppose it by force.’

14. In case of doubt ‘ you are to have your eye in the determination thereof upon our general scope, which lies in two things.’

(a) A good peace with the assistance of the Dutch.

(b) If you have to help Sweden, get the terms of assistance signed by him first ; but you may stop the Brandenburgers without this.

15. If the King of Sweden is the refuser, try to arrange with the Danes and Dutch that we get the same advantages of trade and commerce as the Dutch.

16. As to salutes with the Swedish fleet. ‘ You are to do herein what shall be found necessary and agreeable to the honour of this Commonwealth, as you in your judgment and discretion shall think fit.’

17. In the British seas foreigners are to strike.

18. Communicate with home frequently.

19. If you are killed or disabled, the Vice Admiral is to execute these instructions.

20. [*Added in Mountagu's writing*] ‘ In case the whole fleet contained in this list be not ready, you shall proceed upon your voyage with such part of them as are ready to sail with you, giving order to the rest to follow after you.’

II

GOODSON TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY AND
TO MOUNTAGU.

(Carte MSS. Vol. 73, ff. 305-6.)

Right Honourable, Three days since I gave Commissioner Bourne the particular state of the ships with me, which I hope he hath sent to you. The winds still continuing in the north and eastern quarters, which prevents the coming down of provisions, enforces me to remind your Honours that there is not above four days' bread in these ships, if weather would permit to make an equal dividend of it. Beer little more, which enforces us to keep our men to two thirds allowance, to great discontent. In these hard gales of wind three ships have broke their cables and this ship bowed an anchor and broke a stock; by which our ships drove to and again, not without danger. The Leopard and Reserve have not, as they say, no more cables than a best and small bower, which are at grounds. I humbly beg leave to give my judgment, which is that if your ships had been in the Hope, it would have answered all ends and saved a great deal of wear and tear.

Sickness amongst our men doth increase; from this ship I yesterday discharged 18 and sent ashore 20 more. I question not but that Commissioner Bourne hath given your Honours an account of the damage the Assistance sustained by her being aground on a sand called the Cuttler. Upon examining the master how it was occasioned, he saith with showery weather the marks were not to be seen, and trusting to his lead he was deceived.

In the time of my being in the Sound there was committed to me 4000 dollars to buy provisions for my squadron and for the maintenance of the sick of the fleet on shore upon Hven, the account of which provisions not yet adjusted with the pursers by reason of our sudden departure, by which means cannot adjust with the Deputy Treasurer for the moneys: therefore humbly desire your Honours, if you either intend to send me

Provisions on board the undermentioned ships in months, weeks, and days at whole allowance from the 9th September, as also each ship's number of sick men, 1659.

—	Bread.		Beer.		Beef.		Pork.		Peas.		Fish.		Butter.		Cheese.		Sick Men.
	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	m.	w. d.	
Swiftsure	0	1	3	0	1	2	0	3	2	0	—	—	0	1	2	0	29
Plymouth	0	1	3	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	4
Tredagh	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	5	0	2	5	0	2	5	0	—
Torrington	0	0	4	0	0	7	0	2	2	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	10
Worcester	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	24
Leopard	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	20
Centurion	0	0	6	0	1	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	9
Portsmouth	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reserve	0	2	0	0	1	4	0	2	3	0	2	3	0	2	3	0	4
Assistance	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Assurance	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Elias	0	1	1	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	4
Success	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	0
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An abstract of Anchors, Cables and Sails wanting. Viz., amongst those of the :—

Rate.	Anchors.	Cables of			Main Courses.	Fore Courses.	Spritsail Courses.	Mizen Courses.	Main Topsails.	Mizen Topsails.
		17	16	14 13						
2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
3	0	0	6	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
4	1 of 17c. 1 of 22	2	2	6 1	1	0	1	2	0	1

abroad, or if to ride here, that I may have leave to come to London for some small time before the pursers be dispersed, which otherwise may much conduce to my trouble and damage.

May it please your Lordship, The foregoing is what I have written now to the Right Honourable Commissioners of the Admiralty, and humbly beg your Lordship's minding of them in those things which you judge of concernment. The enclosed is what I sent them, as dated, being an account of the state of the victualling of the ships here ; as also annexed their wants of anchors, cables and sails. More particular necessities were sent also in notes. Naught else at present, but remain, Your Lordship's most humble servant,

WILLIAM GOODSON.

Swiftsure, in the Sladeway,
the 13th September, 1659.

III

SANDWICH'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE TO ALGIERS.

(Carte MSS. Vol. 74, ff. 388-9.)

Rough draft. Additions and corrections (in Sandwich's hand) in italics. Words crossed out given in square brackets.

Instructions for our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Edward Earl of Sandwich, our Vice Admiral of England, Admiral and Commander in chief of our fleet now employed for the Mediterranean Sea and elsewhere to the Southward, in our good ship the Royal James.

You are after the receipt of these Instructions, without any loss of time, to repair unto the ships appointed for this service (a List whereof is hereunto annexed) and [shall take] *taking* the same into your care and conduct as *Admiral and* Commander in chief.

[And shall use your best endeavour that] You shall appoint the aforesaid fleet with all possible speed to sail to such rendezvous *within* the Channel as shall by you be judged most convenient in order to the execution of [the following] *these our* Instructions.

And in the first place you shall take care that God be duly served twice a day aboard every ship belonging to our said fleet under your command. From whence, as wind and weather and other occasions of the fleet will permit, you shall with the said fleet sail unto the Bay of Algiers, where, as soon as you shall arrive, you shall send to the town of Algiers and endeavour to get on board you the English Consul or such other persons as you shall judge meet, and from them (as also by any other good ways and means) inform yourself of the present condition of the town, government, harbour and shipping there, and of any opportunities that may be taken for the destroying or damnifying the said ships or harbour ; as also of the best means to gain from the government there a Treaty of Peace and Alliance, wherein one article shall be, that the ships of both shall pass freely without molestation ; and according to the judgment your Council of War shall make upon the said information, in that method shall you proceed to obtain the same ; whether it be presently to enter into Treaty with those of Algiers ; or first to intimate and declare unto them [the King of England's] *our* dissent from and dislike of their searching and taking out [of] goods or persons out of any ship or vessel belonging to any of [his Majesty's] *our* Dominions, and to declare hostility against them ; and, as opportunity shall serve, with the said fleet or any part thereof, arrest, surprise and detain, or, in case of resistance, fight with, kill and slay, sink, burn or destroy the persons, fleets, ships and vessels belonging to the said town or government of the town of Algiers or any of their subjects, together with all their lading and appurtenances, which you shall meet with at sea or can attempt in any of their harbours, ports or rivers ; or what other course soever your Council of War shall advise to compass the ends aforesaid.

And you are also further authorised hereby upon the advice of your Council of War in order to the ends aforesaid, to beat down their castles, forts, walls and houses, and if need be, to land men and to fight with, captivate, kill and destroy all such as shall oppose you therein.

(*Endorsed*). A foul draft of the Instructions for Algiers.

IV

SANDWICH'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR 1664.

(Carte MSS. Vol. 75, f. 193.)

James, Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland, etc., Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Governor of Portsmouth, etc.

To Edward Earl of Sandwich my Lieutenant and Admiral and Captain General of the Narrow Seas, and Admiral of his Majesty's Fleet, now bound forth to the sea.

So soon as his Majesty's ships (now in the Hope) shall be fully provided of their victuals and stores for four months, you are to order them to take the first opportunity of sailing into the Downs, where you are to take upon you the charge and command not only of the said ships, but likewise of such other of his Majesty's ships as you shall find there, or shall hereafter be sent thither for his Majesty's service, within his Majesty's seas.

You are to take care that Almighty God be duly served on board the ship under your command twice every day by the whole ship's company, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and that blasphemy, drunkenness, swearing and profaneness be discountenanced, restrained and punished.

You are from time to time to send out such of his Majesty's ships or vessels under your command as you

shall judge fit, toward the coast of Holland, or to any other parts where you shall understand the Dutch fleet or any considerable part thereof shall be, to the end you may by that means have frequent and certain information of their number, strength and motion.

You are to instruct the commanders of such ships or vessels as you shall so send forth, and all others, that they do not attempt any hostility against any of his Majesty's Allies, unless they shall refuse or neglect to strike sail unto his Majesty's ships, or to do such other things as are customarily done in acknowledgement of his Majesty's right and Sovereignty of the Sea.

You are upon all occasions to take care that his Majesty's honour be preserved, and his subjects protected and defended.

You are to take care to preserve good order and discipline in his Majesty's fleet under your command, and to that end (as occasion shall require) you are to put in execution the Articles of War established by Act of Parliament, and to hold Courts Martial for punishing offenders, according to the Commission particularly granted to you on that behalf.

You are to give me frequent notice of all occurrences which may any way concern his Majesty's service, to the end you may receive such further orders as may conduce to the good of his Majesty's service.

Given under my hand at St James's this ninth day of July 1664.

JAMES.

By command of his R: Highness
W. Coventry.

(Endorsed by Sandwich) July 9, 1664. His Royal Highness. Instructions upon my first going to sea this summer.

V

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO SANDWICH.

(Sandwich MSS. Letters from Ministers, etc.

Vol. I, f. 31.)

My Lord of Sandwich. It is now more than a week since Captain Reynolds, Commander of his Majesty's ship the Gift, bound for Guinea, did inform me that he had all his stores on board and was ready to sail, and that from myself by word of mouth and also by signification of my pleasure in writing from my secretary he had directions to carry the said ship into the Downs, and it is a full week since he had his last sailing orders, notwithstanding all which and that he hath not appeared to complain of any want or defect, yet I am informed that on Thursday night last the said ship was at Erith. The precedent of such a neglect is of so dangerous a consequence as that it ought not to be passed over silently, and therefore I desire you, so soon as Captain Reynolds shall arrive in the Downs, to examine the matter and if you find him faulty (as it is most probable you will, since the wind hath been fair during the whole time of this neglect), I desire you to remove Capt. Wilgresse (who formerly desired that voyage in the Company's service) into that ship, directing him to execute the orders formerly given to Captain Reynolds, which you may demand of him, and upon notice of it I shall send you down another commander for the Hector, that so no time may be lost for the dispatch of the fleet to Guinea. *I am your very affectionate friend—*
James.

St. James's, 23rd July, 1664.

[Words in italics are in autograph.]

VI

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO SANDWICH.

(Sandwich MSS. Letters from Ministers, etc.
Vol. I, f. 33.)

. . . I have received your letter of the 27th instant and am by my Secretary informed of a question which you have put to him concerning the exacting from the Dutch fleet by a single ship (and that perhaps a small one) the striking their flag and topsails, in which the best is (as much as may be) to avoid the occasion of the question so stated ; but if it happen that such a case fall out, I hold it necessary that the commander of the single ship, how small soever, do exact it from them by the exchange of some shot, though I do not hold it a duty for him to be sunk upon such unequal terms, but judge it sufficient that by the exchange of some shot on both sides he hath made the command and they obstinately refused it. . . . *James.*

July 29th, 1664.

VII

EXTRACT FROM ALLIN'S JOURNAL FOR 1665.

(Tanner MSS. Vol. 296, f. 86.)¹

The 31 [May] we weighed, the wind at E.S.E., and got in Southwold Bay. We went to press and got 9 men. Stand upon the ebb to the northward of Kessingland.

The first of June we spied the fleet, Capt. Lambert first. He fired a gun and let his topgallant sheets fly ; so did I, and stood to the fleet. They all weighed and stood off to the S.E., the wind E.N.E., fair weather. We anchored upon the ebb, thinking to stop them leeward, but they held their ground.

The 2 of June, Friday, we made sail towards them, but was very little wind all the forenoon ; easterly afternoon,

¹ Punctuation for the most part inserted by the editor.

a fine gale and we raised them much. We saw one of their ships blown up, but it proved a fireship.

The 3 June, Saturday, in the morning we came up with the Holland fleet and fell to firing, Vice Admiral Myngs¹ first, but very far off; and so they fought the first pass to little or no purpose, the wind at S.W. About 8 oclock both fleets tailed² to the S.E. and fought very far off, that few shots reached and those laid at random. His Highness sent me word to stand in and I presently stood in so near as not to shoot in vain and plied my guns very hard for 2 hours upon General Obdam, another flagman and 2 ships laying on a line and a Vice Admiral and 4 more, 9 in all. But they paid me handsomely; I lost 4 good seamen and had six sorely wounded: my masts, yard, sail and hull very much torn, and rigging ropes; and setting my mainsail to stretch ahead from the flagships came two new frigates or scouts fresh upon me. I was forced to take and receive all to get off, but paid the biggest frigate, young Evertsen,³ soundly. I went and mended what I could, but it was late, 3 oclock, before I was fit to fight. In that time General Obdam's ship blew up. I went aboard his Royal Highness, who thanked me for my adventure. I told him I would follow it, and was at the taking or beating them to yield several, and at the beating the fleet together shot three got together and were burnt by one of our fireships. The same formerly burnt 4 ships all foul of one another. We followed all night.

The 4, Sunday, we took Carolus Quintus, Capt. Joris Jansz. Knyten, 54 guns, 250 men. He fired two guns at me, and when I came near him I fired one gun at him and his flag went down, so we possessed her and followed the fleet. We made Camperdown by 9 oclock, the wind westerly, and stood along and saw them at anchor, as many as could get close to the buoys with a tide of ebb. Had we fireships and gone upon them shooting, we had destroyed many of them. Their chief commanders were destroyed, as Obdam, Kortenaer, Tromp, Bankert's foot off, divers others. At noon we stood off N.W. then W.S.W.

¹ MS. Minnes.

² Sailed or tacked? MS. has tayed.

³ This name added in margin.

VIII

LISTS OF THE ENGLISH FLEET AT BERGEN.

(Bath MSS. See Historical MSS. Commission,
4th Report, p. 230.)

A List of the Ships ordered by my Lord of Sandwich
to go to Bergen under the Command of Sir Thomas
Teddiman.

Revenge

{ Happy Return
Breda—Commander slain
Mary Rose
Foresight
Bonaventure
Sapphire
Guinea
Expedition
Golden Lion

Merchantmen

{ John and Thomas
Society
Hambro' Merchant—Slain
Prudent Mary—Slain
Exchange
Bendish
Constant Catherine
Coast Frigate—Slain

{ Pembroke
Guernsey—Slain
Norwich

Ketches

{ Royal Katherine
Edward and Eve
Sir Jeremy Smith's
Sir William Berkeley's

Briar fireship—Slain
Hound fireship

The names of those Ships that were driven to Leeward of the Port and did not come up with us to Bergen the 1st of August, 1665.

Mary Rose, Bonaventure, Expedition, Constant Catherine, John and Thomas, Hambro' Merchant, Exchange.

The names of those ships that I engaged.

The eight Ships that lay against the Dutch—

Pembroke, Sapphire, Happy Return, Bendish, Foresight, Breda, Prudent Mary, Norwich.

The Starboard Quarter :

Guernsey, Revenue, Coast Frigate, Guinea.

The Larboard Quarter :

Golden Lion, Society.

The Martin Galley ¹ plied up and down at the Point.

The names of those Ships that came to us after the Engagement.

Mary Rose, Exchange, Constant Katherine, John and Thomas, Eagle—with [letters] from my Lord.

Revenge	Slain 4	Wounded 7
Society	2	0
Happy Return	14	48
Sapphire	15	41
Breda	29	55
Foresight	14	54
Bendish	14	38

¹ Not mentioned in the original list, unless she was one of the unnamed ketches. More likely she is the same as the Martin Frigate which joined Sandwich on July 26th. This was a 6th Rate. To make these lists agree with Sandwich's figures, it is necessary to count this ship as a 5th Rate, and to class the Golden Lion, a Dutch prize, with the merchantmen. The Hambro' Merchant was not present at the action, so the death of her commander needs explanation.

APPENDIX

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Prudent Mary	Slain 7	Wounded 13
Guinea	0	7
Guernsey	2	9
Pembroke	0	6
Coast Frigate	2	0
Norwich	7	24
Golden Lion	0	6
Martin Galley	1	1
Briar	1	0

Slain in all 112 Wounded in all 309

Slain and wounded in all 421.

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